

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church



SEPTEMBER, 1957



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SCHOOL, 1857-1957 *By Raymond R. Taylor*

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ELAEL SCOTT MINES, UNOFFICIAL MISSIONARY TO CALIFORNIA, 1849 *By Lionel Utley*

ANGLICAN-CONVENTIONALIST TENNEDY: PRE-REVOLUTIONARY CONNECTICUT *By George Washington Williams*

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A Century of the Philadelphia Divinity School, 1857-1957

By Raymond R. Taylor*

BISHOP William White was disappointed in his aspirations for a theological seminary in the diocese of Pennsylvania. He shared with other bishops a certain distrust of a national seminary, and was inclined to believe that diocesan seminaries should be the rule. Where he failed, Bishop Alonzo Potter succeeded.¹ The latter became bishop of Pennsylvania in 1845, after having had a distinguished career in the academic world. His experience in teaching, and later in administration as vice-president of Union College, eminently qualified him for the task of founding a diocesan seminary.

Although the General Theological Seminary² had been founded by the General Convention in 1817, and established in New York City, not nearly enough candidates for the priesthood required by the diocese of Pennsylvania were being trained there. As other seminaries were founded, Pennsylvania candidates were sent to them. Those not so fortunate

received counsel and direction from the clergy of parishes with which they are respectively connected; and by a liberality of the Trustees of the Episcopal Academy, provision is also made by which the Rev. Dr. Hare can devote an hour daily, for five days in each week, to their instruction in the original languages of the Old and New Testaments. To a small number of candidates, I have myself been able to give some instruction . . .³

This text establishes the fact that G. Emlen Hare and Bishop Potter were the first instructors in the embryonic divinity school. Dr. Hare remained with the school until 1892.

*The author is rector of Holy Trinity Church, South River, New Jersey, and has just completed a full-length *History of the Philadelphia Divinity School* (1957), published by the School.—*Editor's note*.

¹For an excellent biographical sketch, see William Wilson Manross, "A Great Evangelical: Alonzo Potter, Third Bishop of Pennsylvania," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, IX (1940), pp. 97-130.

²For the history of this institution, see "The General Seminary Number, 1821-1936," by various writers, in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, V (1936), pp. 145-264.

³Diocese of Pennsylvania, *Journal*, 1846, "The Bishop's Address," pp. 32-33.

Such instruction was only an expedient. Eight years later, Bishop Potter was no longer content with the situation. He told the diocesan convention that, "if a *Training College* were established," he could use the teachers of it in establishing new congregations or in serving as assistants in existing congregations.⁴ Two years later, in 1856, he returned to the charge:

In order to train clergymen to the highest possible efficiency, it is necessary that study and work should be more or less combined, as well during their novitiate, as afterwards. This consideration led me to form the idea of establishing in this diocese a proper Training School for candidates for orders, where they could be trained, at one and the same time, to the theory and practice of their profession.⁵

The new Training School was accordingly established in 1857. Dr. Hare resigned as headmaster of the Episcopal Academy, and Bishop Potter assigned him the task of getting the school started. As its first professor, Dr. Hare was the living continuum from private tutoring to the training school, and from that to the Divinity School—covering a period of forty-six years.

The school was conducted in the buildings of the Episcopal Academy.⁶ Apparently, the school got off to a good start, for the bishop reported to the diocesan convention:

The number of candidates for orders in the diocese was yesterday thirty-three. By the ordination of this morning, it has been reduced to twenty eight. Of this number, a large proportion—nearly two thirds—are residents of Philadelphia, or its immediate vicinity, and several of them have been compelled by domestic, and other causes, to remain, while preparing for the ministry, near their homes . . .⁷

But it was not long before the Training School was itself to prove as inadequate to its purpose as had the former program of clerical education, wherein the student read for orders under the guidance of a priest, or in a "clergyman's study." Of course, Potter had not asked for a training school in the first place; he accepted the idea of such a school only as an expedient. In 1860, he resumed his campaign by issuing a general appeal for a divinity school, with a generous endowment

⁴Diocese of Pennsylvania, *Journal*, 1854, p. 31.

⁵*Ibid.*, 1856, p. 36.

⁶J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Wescott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884* (Philadelphia, 1884), Vol. II, 1360-61.

⁷Diocese of Pennsylvania, *Journal*, 1857, "The Bishop's Address," pp. 43-44.

of free scholarships.⁸ On April 8, 1862, the Philadelphia Divinity School was incorporated.

This raises the question as to whether the Divinity School is one hundred years old, or whether it will be in 1962. In other words, is the Divinity School the old Training School?

To answer this question, it must be pointed out that in 1862 the Civil War had brought about vast changes in the life of the Church generally. At the time of the Divinity School's incorporation, an address was issued to the Church by Bishop Alfred Lee of Delaware, and the Rev. Drs. M. A. DeWolfe Howe and A. H. Vinton, which stated:

The suspension and doubtful future of the Theological Seminary in Virginia appeared to many of the friends of our Church to create a necessity that could only be supplied by the erection of a new institution, or the enlargement of some one already in existence.

Under these circumstances, it was decided to adopt the Training School of Philadelphia, which had so well attested its merits by its fruits, and to make it the nucleus of a larger and permanent institution.⁹

When the Associate Alumni were organized in 1865, it was decided by the faculty and students to include in its membership the graduates of the old Training School. The Training School was thus again acknowledged as the nucleus of the Divinity School.¹⁰ Our conclusion must be that the date of the founding of the school was in 1857.

The Divinity School is not alone in dating its founding in this manner. It is well known that the University of Pennsylvania, Temple, Harvard, and several European schools do the same thing. Harvard, for instance, was founded in 1636, but it did not receive its charter until 1650.¹¹ Other schools, such as Berkeley, date their founding to the date of incorporation.

Three reasons may be found to explain the incorporation of the Divinity School. It has been indicated that the Training School, though successful, proved to be inadequate, and that the Seminary in Alexandria had been closed by war. When it is realized that Alexandria was the center of evangelical churchmanship and that the General had be-

⁸Diocese of Pennsylvania, *Journal, 1860*, The Bishop's Address, p. 37.

⁹Alfred Lee, M. A. DeWolfe Howe, and A. H. Vinton, *Charter, Constitution and Officers of the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, J. S. McColla, 1882), n.p.

¹⁰*Catalogue of the Divinity School, 1868-69*, p. 13.

¹¹Richard Hofstadter, *The Development of Academic Freedom in America* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1955), p. 83.

come tainted with "high" church practices, the evangelicals, if their teachings were to be perpetuated, had to found another school. It is quite possible, but by no means certain, that fear for the evangelical cause heightened the demand for a Northern seminary of that persuasion. We must be careful, however, not to attach too much importance to the Alexandria situation, for Bishop Potter, from 1845 to 1862, had been indefatigable in his efforts to have more and better trained men in his diocese.

On May 26, 1862, a meeting of several prominent people assembled in Philadelphia to draw up the constitution of the school. On May 30, the constitution was agreed upon. Also, the election of the first boards of trustees and overseers occurred.¹² Among the members of the boards were Gov. Charles S. Olden, of New Jersey, and Asa Packer, the builder of the Lehigh Valley Railroad. Among other persons elected to high positions was G. Emlen Hare, who became the school's first dean. He was elected by the faculty, as were all the deans¹³ until 1883, when, by action of the joint boards, the dean was elected by the joint boards permanently.¹⁴ Seven other clergymen were members of the faculty.

A school would not amount to much if it did not have a place where instruction takes place. It has been said that the first classes were held in old St. Andrew's Church. None of the records indicate that this is true. If any parish can claim this distinction, it is St. Luke's Church in downtown Philadelphia.¹⁵ Mention has already been made regarding the first classes held in the Episcopal Academy. On June 17, 1863, a piece of property was purchased at 39th and Walnut Streets for \$30,000, and the first building of the seminary was the Allibone House.¹⁶ Apparently, this name was changed by 1865 to Divinity Hall and Spencer Hall, there being two buildings by this time. In the latter were the library and the chapel.¹⁷

The location at 39th and Walnut Streets was not at all desirable. Fewer than ten years later (1872), a committee was seeking a new location.¹⁸ On October 2, 1872, property at 51st Street and Woodland

¹²*Minutes of the Overseers*, Vol. I, 1862, pp. 4, 5.

¹³*Minutes of the Faculty*, Vol. I, 1862, p. 1.

¹⁴*Minutes of the Overseers*, Vol. II, pp. 98-99.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 254. Dr. Goodwin had his first class in St. Luke's.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 72, 77.

¹⁷*Catalogue . . . , 1865*, p. 13.

¹⁸*Minutes of the Overseers*, Vol. I, p. 144.

Avenue was purchased for \$20,000 from Mary Gibson. Immediate steps were taken to relieve the school of the old property.¹⁹ The Panic of 1873, however, delayed all processes of transfer,²⁰ but in 1875 conditions improved enough so that the boards felt that the school could proceed with the new buildings.²¹ Not until 1883 was the old Walnut Street property sold.²²

The cornerstone of the new building was laid on June 21, 1881,²³ and the following year the first classes were held.²⁴ Judging from old photographs, the buildings were quite pretentious, especially when it is remembered that the school had not yet been a quarter of a century old. The school, however, was not in a condition to undertake this venture, but the fact that it did forced the school to develop its interest in the alumni, who were for the first time called upon to give substantial support to the school. It was suggested that members of the alumni be placed upon the Board of Trustees.²⁵ The Rev. Arthur Brooks and the Rev. Chas. Perkins were the first alumni so elected.²⁶

While the seminary was situated at 51st and Woodland Avenue, one very permanent contribution was made to the Church. The area was relatively new, and a large housing project was in process in the 1880s. Methodists had already built a house of worship for their people, and it occurred to the seminary authorities that the chapel could be used on Sundays for the Episcopalians in the neighborhood. It was also felt that such an arrangement might help the students get further training in practical theology.²⁷ Services began October 27, 1887, and the dean was made minister-in-charge. The joint boards were to assume no financial obligations, and the arrangement was to have a trial period of five years.²⁸ The mission was an outstanding success. First, a request was made to have summer services.²⁹ Finally, it became imperative that new quarters be found for the increasing congregation. It moved in 1891 to 47th and Kingsessing Avenue where it acquired the name, "St. Paul's mission" (1892).³⁰ Later, on April 2, 1900, it merged

¹⁹*Minutes of the Overseers*, I, 451.

²⁰*Ibid.*, I, 457-458.

²¹*Ibid.*, I, 519.

²²*Ibid.*, II, 54.

²³*Minutes of the Faculty*, III, 122.

²⁴*Ibid.*, III, 132.

²⁵*Minutes of the Overseers*, I, 566.

²⁶*Ibid.*, I, 90-91.

²⁷*Catalogue . . . 1889-1890*, pp. 12-13.

²⁸*Minutes of the Overseers*, II, 276-277.

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 221-223.

³⁰*Catalogue . . . 1893-1894*, p. 18.

with the Church of the Atonement. This would have been a natural consequence because the minister-in-charge formerly had ministered to both missions.³¹

As everyone knows, Philadelphia is not a city that has been too well planned. The neighborhood around the Divinity School was becoming increasingly less desirable after 1900. A trolley car barn, as well as many industries were located near the property. When it is realized that the General Seminary seems to be relatively unaffected by the deterioration of its neighborhood, we might question the wisdom of those who had wanted the removal of the seminary from Woodland Avenue. It had an academic building, a library building, and a very charming chapel. Evidently, the school authorities imbibed much of that optimism which had affected the country during the first decade of the twentieth century. So in spite of an uncertain student potential, of poor financial endowments, and the crises of war and later depression, the boards were determined to move.

We first hear of the plans to move in 1914. It was decided to purchase the Clark property at 42nd and Spruce Streets for \$200,000, and for the following reasons: it was nearer to the University of Pennsylvania; it was in an area not likely to be invaded by factories and the like; it had enough land for future expansion; and, finally, a mansion was already there, which could be used for classes during the construction of the new buildings.³² The new property was purchased on April 15, 1917, and in 1919 the old property was sold to Mercy Hospital for \$122,000.³³

Whatever else may be said, the move to 42nd Street has proved to be a wise one. We now have a piece of property worth over \$2,000,000, it has easily the most beautiful seminary chapel in North America, and its other buildings are only less beautiful. Dr. W. P. Laird of the School of Architecture, University of Pennsylvania, was the architect, and the firm of Zentzinger, Borie and Medary designed the buildings.³⁴ By the time of the depression of the 1930s, the Library, the Chapel and Deanery and one house were completed. No new buildings were undertaken until very recently—the Memorial Hall in 1953, and Bishop Hart Hall in 1956. The school's general condition has improved immeasurably under Dean Frank D. Gifford.

³¹*Minutes of the Overseers*, III, 185.

³²*Ibid.*, IV, 362-363.

³³*Ibid.*, V, 33.

³⁴*Ibid.*, V, 39.

Before and after the new buildings were completed, several houses were either purchased by, or given to, or rented by the seminary for temporary purposes. This is still the case, but in the interim between the removal from Woodland Avenue to 42nd Street, the school used the facilities of St. Andrew's Church on Eighth Street in Philadelphia. Its parish house was used for classes. Probably, the notion that the first classes ever held by the school were conducted in this old parish gained currency during this period.

It is at this point that some peculiarities about this seminary should be noted. The Philadelphia Divinity School is the only seminary in the United States that is at the same time a school, a parish, a reference library and a cemetery. Since the library and the chapel were for many years the two main buildings on the new campus, we shall take these two subjects consecutively.

The library began as an unpretentious little room. Though its books were few, they must have been very good, as other seminaries and colleges made good use of them.³⁵ Up until 1907, the library remained a room within the school. That year an unnamed donor provided most of the necessary cash for a new building as a memorial to Bishop William Bacon Stevens.³⁶ It was equipped with electricity, modern furniture, and it was fireproof.³⁷ Completion of the building came in 1908.³⁸

Within the building is housed another library. On Tuesday, December 12, 1911, the vestry of St. Clement's Church, Philadelphia, elected the Divinity School to house the books to be secured from the funds provided by the late Ellis Yarnall. The books were to have their distinct bookplates, and were to be kept intact, apart from the William Bacon Stevens Library as such.³⁹ On June 5, 1912, the school accepted the proposition, and the Yarnall Library is still housed in the Divinity School Library.⁴⁰ As a result, the Divinity School has one of the finest collections on liturgics and other subjects pertaining to Catholicism in the United States.

The other new building now to command our attention is the chapel, which was the second building to be completed on the new site. The spiritual life of the student should be the direct concern of any divinity school. Therefore, throughout its history, the school has

³⁵ *Minutes of the Overseers*, IV, 106.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 329.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 363.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 437.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 214-220.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

maintained some type of place for worship. At first, services were held in a room for that purpose. No special building was provided until 1887, when a chapel was built through the generosity of Miss Catherine L. Wolfe, who had given \$10,000 in 1882.⁴¹ In the interior, the usual Anglican setting was to be found. Considering the period, it is remarkable that a cross was found upon the altar. It was in this small chapel that St. Paul's Mission, later merged with the Church of the Atonement, began.

On the other hand, St. Andrew's Church was founded in 1823, and for the next sixty years was to have a glorious role to play in the religious life of Philadelphia. In 1873, at a celebration of its fiftieth anniversary, it was noted that the population was moving at a steady rate to West Philadelphia. Business was more and more encroaching upon the neighborhood.⁴² In 1886, this movement of population manifested itself in the decline of pew rents. The rector, Dr. Wilbur Paddock, said that there was danger that services might eventually be discontinued. To avoid this, he advocated establishing a chapel in the western part of the city.⁴³ Thus Dr. Paddock foresaw by thirty odd years that Anglicanism was doomed in the Eighth Street area. In 1899, he suggested three remedies for the church's falling income: (1) his resignation; (2) a decrease in his salary; (3) a decrease in the salary of the sexton, and the creation of a volunteer choir. The second and third recommendations were accepted by the vestry.⁴⁴ Subsequently, on August 1, 1901, he resigned, leaving a post he had assumed in 1863. In his letter of resignation, he referred to the continued losses of the downtown churches.⁴⁵

It was this continued decline that eventually brought about a merger of St. Andrew's Church with the Divinity School. In 1918, Mr. E. H. Bonsall wrote:

If the proceeds of the sale of the present St. Andrew's Church property could be invested in the erection of a suitable chapel on the Divinity School plot and the endowment fund used for the support of the chapel work, it would not only perpetuate the name of St. Andrew's, as the Chapel would be called St. Andrew's Chapel, but would at once give dignity and power to the school . . .⁴⁶

⁴¹Minutes of the Overseers, II, 75-76.

⁴²Wilbur Paddock, *Half Century of Church Life* (Philadelphia, 1873), p. 118.

⁴³Minutes of the Vestry of St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia, Vol. II, 514.

⁴⁴Ibid., III, 75-76.

⁴⁵Ibid., III, 90-91.

⁴⁶Ibid., III, 105.

The rector, Dr. John Jay Joyce Moore, Class of 1879, was, upon the suggestion of Bishop Thomas J. Garland, instrumental in bringing the end about.⁴⁷ After the necessary legal papers were drawn and agreements with neighboring parishes were made, St. Andrew's Church became the Collegiate Chapel of St. Andrew—the chapel of the Divinity School. To this day, the dean of the seminary is the rector of the parish and there is an active vestry. The complete transaction required the years from 1918 to 1926 to be concluded.

St. Andrew's approved the sale of the old property on December 27, 1921; it was ratified on November 4, 1924.⁴⁸ The old edifice was sold to the Greek Orthodox Church. On October 2, 1924, a meeting was called at which Dr. Moore and Dean Bartlett were present to discuss the plans for a new chapel.⁴⁹ The cornerstone was laid June 4, 1925.⁵⁰ The Holy Eucharist was celebrated in the crypt of the new chapel, June 9, 1926, and Dr. Moore stated that this service, for all practical purposes, marked the opening of the new chapel.⁵¹ The official opening, however, occurred on Wednesday, October 27, 1926. Among the dignitaries who attended was the Rt. Rev. Arthur Foley Winnington-Ingram, Lord Bishop of London, who preached the sermon.⁵²

At the time of the dedication, much remained to be done in the interior of the chapel. The stained glass window over the altar, the mural paintings, wrought iron work, and the temporary fixtures in the sanctuary were a memorial to the architect, Milton Bennett Medary, in 1930. In the same year, under the very peculiar will of H. L. Peake, the interior was further developed. His idea originally was to build a memorial to house a statue of Bishop White. The spirit of the will was fulfilled, however, by placing a statue of Bishop White over the dean's stall.⁵³ In 1949, Mr. Herbert J. Tulley donated the pipe organ; in 1951, a new altar and reredos were dedicated and consecrated in memory of Walter W. Newnam (not Newman).

Any discussion of the chapel is bound to bring up the subject of churchmanship. It has been already mentioned that the Divinity School had had an evangelical basis. Space does not provide for a complete discussion of the Church. It is the writer's opinion that a seminary

⁴⁷*Minutes of the Vestry of Saint Andrew's Church, Philadelphia, Vol. III, 148.*

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, III, 242.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, III, 239.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, III, 229.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, III, 249.

⁵²*The Office for the Presentation and Opening of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Andrew.*

⁵³*Minutes of the Trustees, II, 53.*

does not, and should not, set the "norm" of churchmanship, but that the parishes do and should. At least this may be said, that the Divinity School has reflected almost completely the churchmanship of any period of its history. If some would maintain that it is getting too high, all that can be said is that it is reflecting the spirituality of our parishes. And it would seem only fair that a seminary should do this, for it is the purpose of the Divinity School to train its candidates for the type or types of churchmanship expected by the several parishes throughout the country.

At first, the seminary was intolerant of "high" churchmanship. Robert Ritchie, in 1866, was the first student recorded to be dismissed from the seminary on the ground of churchmanship. He and other students had indulged in practices the faculty regarded as superstitious. One such practice was orientation in the chapel services.⁵⁴ In later years, he became rector of St. James the Less parish in Philadelphia, and received both a graduate degree and an honorary doctorate from the school. In 1868, a committee reported that the senior class was now fortified by the professor of history "against seductions of those who would bring novelties into our worship on the plea of their legitimate use in times past."⁵⁵

In 1870, the peace of the school was further disturbed by the St. Paul's Brotherhood, apparently intended to exert a partisan influence in the school.⁵⁶ We are not told just whether this partisanship was of a "high" church nature or not, but we may infer that it was.

The "high" church controversy caused Dr. Daniel R. Goodwin to write a pamphlet with the pugnacious title, *The Presbyter's Reply to a Priest's Letter*, as well as another on the *New Ritualistic Controversy*.⁵⁷ In 1887, Dr. Edward T. Bartlett said that "an institution which is meant to diffuse moderate, conservative, enlightened and truly Evangelical principles of Churchmanship and doctrine is urgently needed . . ."⁵⁸

Laymen also entered the controversy in their own peculiar way. Mrs. Margaret Bucknell, using a method often practised by the laity, gave \$20,000 to the school on the condition that the school remain in the hands of the evangelical or "low" church party. She expressed complete disapproval of the "ritual" party, and stated that if the school

⁵⁴Minutes of the Faculty, I, 95, 98-103.

⁵⁵Minutes of the Overseers, I, 294.

⁵⁶Ibid., I, 385-386.

⁵⁷Ibid., III, 45.

⁵⁸Ibid., II, 192.

were to succumb to ceremonialism, the money was to be forfeited by the school.⁵⁹

Old St. Andrew's Church reflected the same general opinions. Throughout its history as an independent parish, it was decidedly evangelical. Judging from a picture of the east end of the church in 1873, the pulpit is very prominent, the lectern on the next lowest level, and the Communion table below that. Upon the table were neither crosses nor candles. Apparently, "sanctuary" meant the church.⁶⁰

But there were omens of creeping high churchmanship, even in this old parish. As early as 1837, the vestry appropriated money for new hangings on the pulpit desk.⁶¹ Simultaneously, Miss Sarah Ashley and Miss Walker gave a beautiful embroidered altar hanging, which the vestry subsequently prized. This was one of the first times, if not the first, that the word "altar" is used in the minutes of the vestry.⁶² After the disastrous fire of 1873, stained glass windows were permitted, but there could be no figures of saints, angels, or other personages.⁶³

In considering the history of the Divinity School, one must always keep in mind that the history of the chapel involves two streams of history: St. Andrew's Church and the Divinity School Chapel itself. Turning to the latter, we should consider the subject of worship. Here creeping "high" churchmanship is discerned from 1866 onwards. The chants and psalms were sung whenever the Morning Office was read (the students petitioned that year for a daily office).⁶⁴ In 1882, the holy days of our Lord were observed with the Holy Communion on the Wednesday of the week in which the holy day occurred. Other holy days rated Morning Prayer and the Ante-Communion.⁶⁵ In 1887, the Holy Communion was celebrated each week, and in 1892 it was held on all Sundays and holy days.⁶⁶ The celebration was increased to include Wednesdays as well as Sundays and holy days in 1904.⁶⁷ Thus, by 1920, the seminary had reached a stage of sacramental development so characteristic of the Church today.

On the ceremonial side, the chapel services were embellished with some "Catholic" practices. In 1882, the faculty ruled that for all

⁵⁹*Minutes of the Overseers*, I, 415-417.

⁶⁰Paddock, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁶¹*Minutes of the Vestry of St. Andrew's Church*, I, 164.

⁶²*Ibid.*, I, 157.

⁶³*Ibid.*, II, 442-443.

⁶⁴*Minutes of the Faculty*, I, 50, 93-94.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, III, 133.

⁶⁶*Minutes of the Overseers*, II, 180.

⁶⁷*Catalogue . . . 1908-1909*, p. 39.

services the officiating professor should wear a surplice.⁶⁸ Other things, like Communion vessels, were presented to the chapel. However, most of the ceremonial enrichments were either retained or improved upon as the years went on. Dean Evans was the first to introduce the Eucharistic vestments in 1938 as permissible on holy days, while the choir vestments (surplice and stole) were to be used on other days.⁶⁹ At the same time, the Daily Office was said prior to the Communion.⁷⁰ Sometime during or after 1948, all holy days rated a choral Eucharist, and since 1951 there is a weekly choral celebration.⁷¹

It is not only in chapel furnishings, services and ceremonial that earmarks of evangelical piety are discerned. A perusal of the courses of instruction, examinations and methods of instruction all betray this emphasis. Evangelical or not, the one common thread that goes through the whole history of academic work is how to enlarge and enrich the curriculum. Three factors contributed to a limitation of the curriculum at the Divinity School: (1) the Evangelical piety which refused to teach adequately certain areas of study; (2) the lack of an adequate endowment kept the quantity of faculty members and students down to a minimum, with the result that only a few subjects could be taught; and (3) academic standing did not help matters much.

We must point out that Evangelical emphasis was not the only factor in limiting the curriculum, nor was its bent seen only in the field of liturgics. "High" churchmen are very apt to be unfair in this respect. This limitation actually had a positive aspect. For instance, in the preamble to the constitution of the school, the purpose was to train prophets and not priests. Therefore, preaching became very central in the life of the school. Students were expected to be able to handle themselves as well in extemporaneous preaching as in the written forms.⁷²

It would be expected that with preaching so important, Biblical study would rate very high, as it does in all our schools. The distinctive feature of Biblical instruction was not mastery of the content of the Scriptures, however, but the Biblical languages. And the faculty held tenaciously to the theory that these languages were necessary. Three pressures helped to force language requirements into retreat: (1) the lower schools, both secondary and collegiate, gradually eliminating

⁶⁸*Minutes of the Faculty*, III, 132.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, IX (9/15/1938), no pagination.

⁷⁰*Minutes of the Overseers*, V, 513.

⁷¹*Minutes of the Faculty*, X (current vol.), 13.

⁷²*Minutes of the Overseers*, I, 177-178.

Greek and Latin language requirements for graduation; (2) students disliked them, and found every conceivable reason to avoid them; and (3) bishops kept demanding that the candidates know less about languages and more about the Bible.⁷³ Students were often dispensed from the language tests on the ground of eye trouble, ill health, and the like.⁷⁴ But the bishops really had a point. Where the language requirements were quite stiff, students succeeded, besides learning the language, in being familiar only with those passages translated.⁷⁵ Thus, by 1890, a course in the English Bible was mandatory.⁷⁶ The history of dispensations may be summed up in this wise: first, the language is required; then, it is dispensed with in certain cases; and, finally, it is eliminated as a requirement.

Other elements contributed to modifications in the curriculum. In the 1880s, Church history began to include the Church of Sweden, probably because the Anglican Church was interested in union with that Church.⁷⁷ Similarly, the bad social conditions of the 1890s brought into the school Christian Sociology.⁷⁸ It was during this general period that the Indian and Negro problems became paramount to all social thinkers. Moreover, with the world getting smaller, the importance of world religions came to the fore. Dean Groton taught a course in this field.⁷⁹ Likewise, increased interest in the Protestant bodies brought about the popular courses in that subject taught by Dr. Lucien Moore Robinson.⁸⁰ Again, the tremendous advances in the knowledge of the sub-conscious brought about a new interest in the psychology of religion.⁸¹

It should be apparent that the Evangelical emphasis actually had a sort of limitation in the Biblical field, but a much greater stress upon languages. Except for the language dispensations, it did not attempt to crystalize the curriculum; adjustments to new demands came fairly easily. This might even be maintained in regard to liturgics. In the beginning, liturgics was not a very important subject. In 1864, students did not even get examined in it.⁸² By 1868, only one hour a week

⁷³*Minutes of the Faculty*, IV, 97.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, II, 340.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, IV, 97.

⁷⁷*Minutes of the Overseers*, II, 45.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, III, 106-109.

⁷⁹*Minutes of the Executive Committee*, II, 213.

⁸⁰*Minutes of the Overseers*, IV, 75.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, IV, 336-345.

⁸²*Ibid.*, I, 116.

was devoted to it.⁸³ Moreover, much of the teaching done in this area appeared polemical.⁸⁴ It was not until 1885, judging from the language of the Minutes of the Overseers, that a full time professor in liturgics had been secured. It may be assumed that the "ritualistic" controversy of the Seventies may have had some influence along these lines.⁸⁵

Far worse than any bias the school may have had, was the financial condition of the institution. At no time in its history has it been too sound in this respect. According to Dean Gifford, this has accounted almost solely for the lack of accreditation of the institution. The history of the school is constantly filled with one financial crisis after another. Sometimes, an unfortunate professor was declared responsible. But when Prof. Gould was dismissed in 1898, the financial situation did not improve any.⁸⁶ In the first place, endowments were not large enough, and every financial panic or depression found the joint boards scurrying for more money, for methods of painless dismissals of professors, and in some cases for ways and means of closing the school. Perhaps the worst period in the history of the school was that of 1930-1946. Two great crises—a depression and then World War II—nearly closed the school permanently. Some people are of the opinion that the school did suspend operations, but that this is false is borne out by the fact that Father Pottle was teaching during the period in question.⁸⁷ A careful study of Appendix I of my *History of the Philadelphia Divinity School* will convince any disinterested reader that degrees were conferred every year from 1930 to 1945, the years in question.

The reason the Divinity School found itself in such bad straits during these tragic years, stems from the fact that Mr. Edward Bonsall, who had done so much to bring the school to its present location, had invested the endowment funds in real estate. The depression had so wiped them out, or so depreciated them in value, that at one time during the depression investments did not yield one cent of interest.⁸⁸ House after house was recklessly sold for whatever could be obtained for it.⁸⁹ According to Mr. Ronald McCarthy, through the process of investment and re-investment, the school has regained many of its losses, so that it may be concluded that financially the school is about where it was a generation ago.

⁸³ *Minutes of the Overseers*, I, 180.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 308.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 149-153.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, V, 19.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, V, 417.

⁸⁸ *Minutes of the Trustees*, II, 118.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 150.

The financial difficulties of the school made it impossible to provide for a full faculty, to pay with a good wage those it already had, and to provide needy students with scholarships. In fact, nearly all the difficulties of the seminary may be traced to this one thing. However, in spite of these handicaps, the school never was without outstanding scholars. James Alan Montgomery was connected with the first expedition of the University of Pennsylvania to the Fertile Crescent.⁹⁰ G. Emlen Hare was a member of the committee on the American Revised Version of the Bible.⁹¹ Similarly, its graduates have in many cases been notable. Nearly thirty bishops have come from its classes, including one archbishop. Several of its graduates have become college presidents, professors and deans. In other words, the school need offer no apology for its existence.

It has been hinted that financial conditions have had something to do with limitation of courses. This should be obvious, because there must be enough teachers if there is to be a large number of fields of endeavor. And this the endowments did not allow. Lack of accreditation is one result of the situation. But this is not the whole story.

Fortunately, the school has been able to do much to raise its academic standing. When the school was incorporated in 1862, it was more like a normal school. Formal classes were held, and examinations given. At the end of the year, a diploma was granted. In the early years of the seminary, this was enough, but, as time went on, college graduates were not increasing among entering students, and many were transferring to other schools. Moreover, the student body remained consistently small.

It was apparent that the students wished to receive a degree, a power not originally granted in the charter. Not having the power occasioned some embarrassment. Upon one distinguished graduate, James S. Stone, who was a professor in the new seminary in Toronto, the school wished to confer such a degree. It had to ask Cambridge to grant the degree.⁹² In 1896, the school received a new power to grant the degrees of Bachelor of Divinity and of Doctor of Divinity. It is said that Philadelphia was the first seminary to grant a divinity degree higher than a Bachelor's. In 1914, it was decided to have a Master's degree in theology, as well as a degree in canon law.⁹³ In 1950, a Master

⁹⁰E. P. Cheney, *History of the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1940), p. 350.

⁹¹Minutes of the Overseers, II, 83.

⁹²Minutes of the Faculty, III, 56.

⁹³Minutes of the Overseers, IV, 255-256.

of Religious Education was granted women students. From 1896 down to 1923, it was the custom to give the student the diploma and the degree at different commencements; and thereafter, simultaneously. But, in 1948, it was agreed to grant ordinary graduates the diploma, and those who were entitled to the degree received the degree only.⁹⁴ It was the Philadelphia Divinity School that called all the other seminaries for a meeting in 1929 to make universal the practice regarding honorary degrees: a D.D., for those with distinguished service, and an S.T.D. for those who have made some distinctive contribution to scholarship.⁹⁵ This is now known as the Philadelphia Plan.

It is obvious to anyone who studies the statistics of the seminary that the power to grant degrees not only held the students at Philadelphia, but actually increased both the number and caliber of new students. In 1956, the year of the discontinuance of the graduate department, there were almost fifty graduate students.

Degrees also obligated the seminary to increase its standards of entrance as well as those for graduation. It is hoped that in the future the graduate program may be resumed. This will become a possibility once the school is accredited. When that occurs, the school may have a formal arrangement with the University of Pennsylvania whereby graduate degrees may be conferred. The school has enjoyed an informal relationship with the University since the last decade of the 19th century, but this has not materially helped the students.

We have discussed something of the nature and content of the courses. The history of methods of instruction and examinations will be enlightening. Few textbooks were needed in the early days, as most of the information conveyed was by the lecture method. Students were required to take copious notes.⁹⁶ The undesirableness of this method was, however, early recognized.⁹⁷ Another feature of early teaching methods was due probably to the scarcity of books; it was the use of memory. For example, each student had to memorize the Thirty-nine Articles.

More interesting is the method of examination. In the constitutional organization of the school, the Board of Overseers exercised the right to determine the content, number and nature of the courses.⁹⁸ They also had the power to visit classes and examine the students.⁹⁹

⁹⁴*Minutes of the Trustees*, III, 147.

⁹⁵*Minutes of the Overseers*, V, 252, 254, 218.

⁹⁶*Catalogue . . . 1865*, p. 11.

⁹⁷*Minutes of the Overseers*, II, 116.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, I, 212. Dr. Hare was told what text in Hebrew he was to use.

⁹⁹*Catalogue . . . 1865-1866*, p. 12.

These examinations often appeared to be as much an examination of the professor as of the students themselves. For example, they recommended that more study be given to Hebrew in one class.¹⁰⁰ Otherwise, examinations had down to 1870 two peculiarities: (1) they were conducted orally, and (2) they were conducted publicly.¹⁰¹ In 1870, a proposal was made for the introduction of written examinations.¹⁰² But this suggestion encountered opposition from both the students and the faculty. The latter argued that there was no reason to substitute written examinations for orals. They saw no benefit, but possible evils in any other.¹⁰³ In 1881, the senior class refused to take written examinations and they took their objections to the governing boards.¹⁰⁴

As for written examinations, the outcome is obvious. As for oral examinations, there was no constitutional basis for them, and disposition on the subject was left in 1905 in the hands of the faculty.¹⁰⁵ But the examiners still continued to encroach upon professorial dignity. In 1904, they even issued report cards.¹⁰⁶ When they said a student was not to graduate, he did not.¹⁰⁷ After 1905, both these "institutions" gradually disappeared, although it is to be lamented that oral exams have almost completely died out.

After considering courses of study, it is appropriate to investigate the question of admission to the school. This proved no serious problem until the advent of degrees. Apparently, at no time was race a barrier to entrance, since Negroes have been students here since at least the 1870s. In this connexion, it should be remembered that the purpose of the school is to train Episcopal clergymen. Theophilus G. Steward, an African Episcopalian not in communion with the Anglican Church, was not only a Negro, but he was the first non-Anglican to graduate from this school—and with high honors as well.¹⁰⁸ From this it may be assumed that students from other denominations were not necessarily denied admission. Moreover, many Orthodox and Polish National Catholic students are alumni of it. But, in 1908, a Universalist minister, the Rev. Clarence E. Rice, wished to study for the doctorate.¹⁰⁹ The

¹⁰⁰*Minutes of the Overseers*, I, 230-231.

¹⁰¹*Catalogue . . . 1865-1866*, p. 12.

¹⁰²*Minutes of the Overseers*, I, 415.

¹⁰³*Minutes of the Faculty*, III, 91.

¹⁰⁴*Minutes of the Overseers*, II, 55.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, III, 286.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, II, 73.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, II, 32.

¹⁰⁹*Minutes of the Faculty*, V, 166, 199.

faculty decided that, while in certain cases members of other denominations could be admitted to the Divinity School, those, who were, had to subscribe to the Nicene Creed.¹¹⁰

Another type of student seeking entrance into the school was the non-ministerial student. In 1925, the faculty allowed students to enter who had no intention of graduating or receiving a degree.¹¹¹ Accordingly, an educated Hindu studied Christianity here in 1929.¹¹² It was noted in 1931 that never in the history of the school had there ever been a time when the student body did not include one or more male students not studying for the ministry of this Church.¹¹³ The admission of a young woman, in 1929, who desired to study religion in order to teach it in college, was a definite departure from the established precedents of the school.¹¹⁴ Under Dean Evans, women received a real lease on life, for in 1938 the school was in affiliation with the Church Training and Deaconess House.¹¹⁵ It was because of the Department of women that the M.R.E. degree has been instituted. The department was removed to New York in 1952.

The seminary has always had the ideal requirement that only those with a Bachelor of Arts degree could be admitted into it. In any case, all had to pass entrance examinations, which requirement appeared to have been dropped in the 1940s. But at the turn of the century, degrees in arts were decreasing, while those in science were increasing. Accordingly, in 1912, the faculty agreed that the holder of a B.S. degree could be admitted, and that it was quite probable he might do just as well.¹¹⁶ The reader is reminded that during the period under consideration a B.A. meant that the student was properly prepared in the classical languages. When Harvard introduced the elective system in 1870, its view were adopted by other schools, of which the most unique is that of the University of Buffalo, where a student may obtain his B.A. without taking a single required course. The elective system, then, forced the seminaries of the Church to adopt other entrance requirements.

It was the changing emphasis among the universities that brought about many changes in the curriculum in the seminary—a subject al-

¹¹⁰*Minutes of the Faculty*, V, 236.

¹¹¹*Minutes of the Overseers*, V, 126. All through its history, there have been such students.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, V, 229.

¹¹³*Ibid.*, V, 294.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, V, 229.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, V, 243-244.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, IV, 277.

ready discussed. This is the reason why so many of our seminaries now teach college or even high school subjects, i. e. elementary Greek and Hebrew. The latter is now taught in some high schools in New York City. Perhaps the most outstanding change has been the result of the expansion of knowledge. It has become imperative that priests be specialists. It is not apropos here to discuss the pro and con of the traditional seminary training versus the new idea. Let it suffice to point out that our clergy must know more than ever before, and since no one priest can absorb it all, specialization must become part of our routine.

It was this very question that brought into the fore the famous clinical training program of Dean Allen Evans. Some of his program went to extremes, which he did not approve of. Space does not permit a detailed analysis of this new program; it is generally familiar today to most students anyway. What is important is that the Divinity School was the first—and if not, certainly the first Episcopal seminary—to have such a program.¹¹⁷ Henry P. Van Dusen said that the Philadelphia undertaking was one of the two most interesting experiments in the U. S.—the other being St. John's College Annapolis.¹¹⁸ These two schools emphasized two diametrically opposite poles of educational thought. The Philadelphia Divinity School was now concerned with social service, while St. John's was concerned with a return to a classical education.

Dean Evans introduced some other new ideas, such as the tutorial system of instruction. He was against marks, and he even tried to do away with classes, but the inability of students to read meaningfully forced him to adopt the class system again. Perhaps his most important contribution to the school, aside from clinical training, was his ability to raise large sums of money, which helped pull the school out of the depression. But World War II produced another crisis which Dean Gifford had to handle. Dean Evans resigned in 1946.

On May 24, 1956, Dean Frank D. Gifford received a citation from the Alumni Association in recognition of his achievements as dean of the school. When he took office, May 1, 1946, World War II had reduced the faculty and students to two and eight respectively. The Alumni Association was completely discouraged. Many dioceses and some bishops lost faith in it. It became the chief duty of the new dean to change the temper of all these dissatisfied people.

Among the first things to be done was to restore the usual classes and hours. Clinical training was not abolished, but it was reduced in

¹¹⁷*New York Times*, Jan. 18, 1937.

¹¹⁸*Dean's Report, 1944*, p. 6.

importance. There is a new program whereby the students work in parishes *gratis*, while learning various aspects of parish work. By their second year, they may earn money while doing this type of work. The library has been improved, both as to the housing of it and in obtaining new books. And two new buildings have been erected—a new dormitory and the refectory. Moreover, the chapel has undergone expensive repairs. Recently, a new paved parking lot was created.

It is hoped that those interested in theological education will help the Philadelphia Divinity School to be of as great service to the Church in the future as it has been in the past.

Appendix

The Original Faculty

(In alphabetical order)

DANIEL R. GOODWIN
G. EMLEN HARE
M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE
JAMES MAY
WILLIAM BACON STEVENS
PETER VAN PELT
JOHN A. VAUGHAN

Chronological List of Deans

DEANS OF THE FACULTY

G. EMLEN HARE, 1862-1866
R. BETHEL CLAXTON, 1866-1869
DANIEL A. GOODWIN, 1869-1884

DEANS OF THE SEMINARY

EDWARD T. BARTLETT, 1884-1900
WILLIAM M. GROTON, 1900-1915
GEORGE GRIFFITHS BARTLETT, 1915-1937
ALLEN EVANS, 1937-1946
FRANK DEAN GIFFORD, 1946—

Hugh Miller Thompson (1830-1903): Assistant Bishop and Bishop of Mississippi, 1883-1903

By Nash K. Burger*

"The Church in Mississippi is growing and gaining, and will grow and gain more, as our people become more compelled by increasing intelligence to find a reasonable, sensible and human religion, and express it in a dignified, reverent and intelligent divine worship."—The Rt. Rev. HUGH MILLER THOMPSON, in his address to Council, 1896.

BY 1880, Mississippi had begun to emerge from the Old South and enter the New. Memory of the Civil War and Reconstruction was still strong, their effects still painfully evident in the state's economy. Yellow fever continued to take its annual toll. The state was "land poor." Yet there were signs of change. Public education from grammar grades through college was being expanded. Diversification of crops and improved farming methods promised a new day for agriculture. There was the beginning of industry—even though this industry all too often was conducted for the benefit of absentee owners outside the South.

Between 1880 and 1900, the population of the state increased from 1,131,597 to 1,551,270. Communicants of the Diocese of Mississippi increased in the same period from 1,694 to 3,792.¹ The ratio of communicants to population thus improved from 1 to 667 in 1880 to 1 to 409 in 1900. (The diocese had been founded in 1826, with four parishes and fewer than 100 communicants.²) During this period of transition and growth, the diocese was guided and directed by the Rt. Rev. Hugh Miller Thompson, first as assistant bishop, then as bishop.

On November 28, 1882, a special council of the diocese of Mississippi meeting in St. Andrew's Church, Jackson, elected the Rev. Hugh

*Mr. Burger is a member of the staff of *The New York Times Book Review*, and is a native of the state and diocese of Mississippi.—Editor's note.

¹*Inventory of the Church Archives of Mississippi: Diocese of Mississippi* (Jackson, 1940), p. 28.

²*Ibid.*, p. 3.

Miller Thompson, rector of Trinity Church, New Orleans, as assistant bishop. The assistant bishop was to serve under the Rt. Rev. William Mercer Green, bishop of Mississippi since 1850, then eighty-four years old.³ The Rev. Dr. Thompson received on the first ballot all save two of the clerical votes and all of the lay ballots.⁴ He accepted the election and was consecrated assistant bishop in Trinity Church, New Orleans, February 24, 1883, by Bishops Richard H. Wilmer (Alabama), John N. Galleher (Louisiana), Samuel S. Harris (Michigan), and Bishop Green.⁵

Bishop Thompson was born in Londonderry, Ireland, of English parents, June 5, 1830, and brought to this country at an early age.⁶ He attended schools at Caldwell, New Jersey, and Cleveland, Ohio. He walked from Cleveland to Nashotah, Wisconsin (a distance of some 500 miles), to enter Nashotah House. He graduated from Nashotah in 1852. He was ordered deacon the same year by Bishop Kemper, and priest by the same bishop in 1856. After serving briefly during his diaconate at the Church of the Nativity, Maysville, Kentucky, he became a teacher at Nashotah as professor of ecclesiastical history, with charge of St. Matthew's Church, Kenosha, and the Church of the Atonement, Milwaukee. Kemper Hall at Kenosha was founded by him. He received the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology from Hobart College in 1863.

He was for a time rector of St. James, Chicago, and in 1872 went to New York as rector of Christ Church, where his sermons attracted large congregations. He became rector of Trinity, New Orleans, in 1875.

Bishop Thompson married twice. His first wife was Caroline Berry, whom he married in 1853, at Madison, Wisconsin. She died in 1857. In 1859, he married Anna Hinsdale of Kenosha, Wisconsin. Two children were born of each marriage.

When he entered the episcopate, Bishop Thompson was fifty-three and had already achieved a national reputation as preacher, scholar and

³Nash K. Burger, "William Mercer Green (1798-1887): First Bishop of Mississippi, 1850-1887," in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XIX (Dec., 1950), pp. 340-354.

⁴*Proceedings of the Special Council of the Diocese of Mississippi Held in St. Andrew's Church, Jackson, Nov. 28 and 29 1883 [should be 1882]* (Jackson, 1883), p. 7.

⁵*Journal of the . . . Annual Council of the . . . Diocese of Mississippi* (Jackson, 1883), pp. 23 and 28. Journals of the Diocese are hereafter cited as *Journal*.

⁶Biographical articles on Bishop Thompson are in *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1936), XVIII, p. 458; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1899), IX, p. 326; William Stevens Perry, *The Bishops of the American Church* (New York, 1897), p. 273.

editor of Church publications. Of Bishop Thompson's early years, Thomas F. Gailor, bishop of Tennessee, tells us:

"Bishop Thompson always said that 'Prof. William Adams, of Nashotah, had more influence upon my intellectual development than all living men together.' Bishop Kemper, he called his 'father gone to Paradise, who has left an impress upon the American Church.' Of the four other Bishops, contemporaries of Kemper, he said, 'McIlvaine confirmed me; Doane taught me Churchmanship and how to preach as well as I can; Whittingham gave me what poor learning I have, and Hobart, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, gripped me fast to stand for Evangelical truth and Apostolic order my life long.'"⁷

E. Clowes Chorley, late historiographer of the Church, writing in *The Dictionary of American Biography*, said of Bishop Thompson:

"He had an unusual combination of gifts; he was an excellent teacher, and had a natural aptitude for metaphysics, large attainments as a scholar, and popular gifts as a preacher. Doctrinally, he was a High Churchman with a strong antipathy to the Anglo-Catholic movement and extreme ritualism."⁸

Although well known as teacher and priest at the time of his election to the episcopate, Bishop Thompson was even better known as a writer and as editor of Church periodicals. He edited *The American Churchman* (Chicago) from 1860 until it was merged with *The Churchman* in 1871. Then, in New York, he edited *The Church Journal*. He had, says Dr. Chorley, "the knack of making the commonplace interesting, and his comments on current events were shrewd and shot through with sound common sense."

Among his published books, written before he became bishop, are: *Unity and Its Restoration* (1860), *First Principles* (1869), *Copy* (1872), *Absolution* (1872), *Is Romanism the Best Religion for the Republic?* (1873). Later, he wrote *The World and the Logos* (1886), and *More Copy* (1897). Several of these books were translated into foreign languages. They were popular not only in America but in England, in the mission field, and, indeed, in all parts of the Anglican Communion.

The activity in Church journalism that marked Bishop Thompson's early years was continued by him in Mississippi. He transferred

⁷*Journal*, 1903, p. 51.

⁸*Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII, p. 458.

to Jackson *The Church News* (begun at least as early as 1882 as a parochial organ of Trinity Church, Natchez, by the Rev. Alexander Marks), and made it the official diocesan paper, which it still is. Earlier diocesan papers included *The Episcopalian* of the 1830's, the *Vicksburg Church Herald* of the 1850's, and *The Diocesan Record of Mississippi*, edited by the Rev. William K. Douglas, 1873-75.⁹

Although Bishop Green was still alive during the first four years of Bishop Thompson's episcopate in Mississippi, he spent much of his time at Sewanee, serving as chancellor of the University of the South, and the direction of the diocese was turned over to Bishop Thompson. From the first, he showed himself an uncompromising Churchman with a strong feeling for the historic and Apostolic heritage of the Episcopal Church.

In his first address to a diocesan council (1884), he declared:

"We need to wake up in the Diocese to the crisis and the work. I have no care to spare myself. I should be ashamed to think that any clergyman worked harder than his Bishop. . . . I have a dream that we can make Mississippi a model for a devoted clergy and a loyal laity."¹⁰

He never hesitated to express his feelings regarding what he considered careless, irresponsible churchmanship, or inept handling of Church affairs. As willing to comment on his own failings as on those of others, he gave, in his annual addresses to council, episcopal charges that are unique for their liveliness and realism. Especially memorable was his fondness for pointing up diocesan shortcomings by describing Church life in the imaginary Mississippi community of Brick Kiln Corners, as in the following passage from his remarks to the council of 1892:

"You all know that the people at Brick Kiln Corners, being Mississippians, are thoroughly convinced that the best of everything is good enough for them, and that the clergyman they propose to provide with \$200 a year must be an eloquent preacher, a devoted pastor, a cultured gentleman, and must exactly 'suit' the population!"

"Dear friends, let us use a little common sense in Church matters. . . .

"The Mississippi congregation insists on a 'first-class man,' and I must say it has had him very often. He can command \$5,000 a year, and this congregation gives him \$1,000 and

⁹*Inventory, op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹⁰*Journal, 1884*, p. 43.

expects him to be satisfied and charmed and to feel that the missing \$4,000 is supplied—even more than supplied—by the privilege of living in Mississippi. The expectation is natural to us, but he does not always see things as we do.

"You praise him as he deserves. His culture and eloquence and piety are creditable to you. But, brethren, other people know culture, eloquence and piety also. A great deal of all these exists outside of Mississippi, though that is hard for you and me to understand, and some of these strange people call him away one day to a great city . . .

"Now what, when such a call comes, shall the Rector of Brick Kiln Corners do?

"He told me at my last visitation that he was expecting a class of 18 for Confirmation. But Miss Arabella Smyth has told him that her grand aunt, Mrs. Mehitabel Jones, had sent her mother word that if Arabella was confirmed she, Mrs. Mehitabel Jones, a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, would immediately take to her bed and die, and she is only 89, and having lived all her life in Mississippi will be cut off in her prime.

"And young John Volkes, who had married Miss Birdie Farwell and proposed to set up a Christian home and be confirmed, heard his young wife had been told by his great grandmother, Mrs. Prudence Asbury, who had been converted at the first camp meeting held in Dark County, and had experienced 'the jerks' would immediately fade from the earth like a snow-wreath in June at the early age of 92 if he 'joined them wicked 'Piscopals.'

"Consequently from these and like reasons his class would be only about 8.

"What can I say to him when he purposes to transfer his work to a field where the dear Mehitabels and Prudences and their dark-age prejudices and ignorances do no longer darken light and mislead to confusion?"¹¹

These remarks by Bishop Thompson about Brick Kiln Corners not only illustrate his unusual and forthright manner of expression, they also touch on one of the many problems with which the post-Civil-War diocese was faced; the problem of clerical manpower. Resulting from several causes, beginning with the poverty and dislocation of all life that accompanied war, Reconstruction and several severe outbreaks of yellow fever, the problem was a serious and cumulative one. There was difficulty in obtaining, maintaining and holding sufficient priests to fill all vacancies. Of 33 clergymen canonically resident and at work

¹¹*Journal*, 1892, p. 50.

in the diocese in 1890, only three had a tenure of over ten years, and only six had been in the diocese more than five years.¹²

Over a period of time, Bishop Thompson, aided by the sacrifices of faithful clergy and laity, was able to improve this situation. Meanwhile, he continued to lecture priests and people on their responsibility. If he tried to jolt the laity out of complacency and parochialism (as illustrated by his remarks about Brick Kiln Corners), he was equally plain spoken to his clergy. Thus, in 1890, he said:

"An ordained man should remember that he has ceased in a profound sense to be his own man. His notions, his personalities, his self opinions, his whimsies (and we all have more or less of them) are bound to be put in abeyance. He represents a Body. He stands for the honor of that Body. By him the Body, in many cases, will be judged."¹³

And, in 1894, he spoke even more plainly:

"The Ministry is not a trade or a living, and the man who conducts his ministry as if it were the one or the other, makes a dead failure of his work and imperils his own soul as well. To be sure a clergyman must live. He can't do his work otherwise. But if he puts the cart before the horse and works for the living, instead of living for the work, he is in the ranks of the failures, and the abler and more prominent he be, the more shameful and scandalous his failure."¹⁴

Anxious to organize the diocese to the fullest extent, Bishop Thompson early worked for the establishment of a cathedral, whose altar would be "the spiritual hearth of the common family."¹⁵ He established his home at Oxford, and arranged for St. Peter's Church there to become a cathedral, and the Rev. Melville M. Moore, of St. Peter's, to be dean. This arrangement continued to 1889. Meanwhile, in 1887, a new Bishop's Home had been erected on the property at Jackson which the diocese had owned since the 1850's (known since the Civil War as Battle Hill). The original diocesan buildings there had been destroyed during the fighting of the Vicksburg campaign.¹⁶

On the death of Bishop Green, Bishop Thompson determined to erect a cathedral at Battle Hill as a memorial. Raising funds in and out of the diocese, he was able to announce in 1892 that the building was

¹²*Journal*, 1890, pp. 6-7.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

¹⁴*Journal*, 1894, p. 47.

¹⁵*Journal*, 1884, p. 36.

¹⁶*Journal*, 1887, p. 6.

"walled and roofed and will soon be occupied." Dedicated to St. Columb, the great missionary saint of Bishop Thompson's native Ireland, the building was declared by him to be "perfect in itself but only considered as the chancel of a future church." St. Columb's Cathedral, built of stone and seating 175 persons, was consecrated April 26, 1894.¹⁷

During Bishop Thompson's lifetime, St. Columb's continued as a cathedral. The council of the diocese frequently met here, and city and diocesan missionaries carried on their work from it. St. Columb's Cathedral did not long continue after Bishop Thompson's death, but the present St. Columb's Church, located in the same western section of Jackson, may be considered a continuation of this effort.

Like Bishop Green, Bishop Thompson had been a teacher, and he was aware of the importance of Church schools. He urged their establishment, and worked to maintain those already existing. However, due to the financial difficulties of the diocese during this period (the state was still far from prosperous and the diocese twice lost most of its funds through failures of banks or individuals), and due also to the expansion of public education, the promotion of Church schools was unusually difficult.

The most notable new educational project of Bishop Thompson's episcopate was the establishment of a school for Negroes in 1890 at Vicksburg, St. Mary's Collegiate Institute, now St. Mary's School.¹⁸

Trinity School at Pass Christian, founded in antebellum times by the Rev. Thomas S. Savage, was reorganized in 1886 as the Pass Christian Institute by the Rev. H. C. Mayer. This was an official diocesan school for girls, by appointment of the bishop.¹⁹ Another school, a parochial and day school, at Natchez, reported 40 students in the 1890's.²⁰

St. Thomas' Hall, diocesan school for boys at Holly Springs, which had been briefly revived after the Civil War, was again reorganized, on a more substantial basis, in 1894, by the Rev. Peter G. Sears (son of C. W. Sears, who had headed the school in 1861). Bishop Thompson referred with pleasure to "the successful reorganization of St. Thomas' Hall." There were 53 cadets in 1894. The school, however, burned in 1898, and funds for rebuilding were not available.²¹ A boys'

¹⁷*Journal, 1894*, p. 43.

¹⁸*Journal, 1891*, p. 37; *Inventory, op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

¹⁹*Inventory, op. cit.*, p. 35.

²⁰*Journal, 1891*, p. 37.

²¹*Journal, 1899*, p. 27; *Inventory, op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.

school, Waveland Academy, under the Rev. Nelson Ayres, operated briefly at Waveland between 1885 and 1890,²² and Bishop Thompson often expressed hope that a diocesan school might be established on the Jackson Battle Hill property, but this was not achieved.²³

At the college level, Bishop Thompson believed that, in view of other demands on the limited diocesan funds, the wisest plan was to support the University of the South at Sewanee, and strengthen the work with students at the state institutions. This view is undoubtedly one reason why he established his first residence at Oxford, site of the state university, and made the parish church there his cathedral.

One of the most difficult and complex problems with which the post-Civil-War South was faced was that of adjustment to the new status of the Negro. It was a particularly pressing problem in Mississippi, where the population was somewhat more than half Negro. It was a problem that had to be met on the political, economic, social and religious levels. Before 1861, masters saw to the religious welfare of their slaves as they did to their physical welfare; Negroes were listed as communicants on the registers of all parishes. In some rural parishes, Negro worshippers far outnumbered whites. Since the Civil War had destroyed the paternal master-slave relationship, a change in religious life was inevitable.²⁴

In 1883, Bishop Green had sent a circular to all of the Southern and Southwestern dioceses calling for a council of bishops, priests and lay delegates "for a full and free conference on the relations of our Church to our late slave population." The council was held at Sewanee in July, a program for Negro work was drawn up, and resolutions were passed and sent to General Convention. The resolutions repeated the concern of the Church in the South for the spiritual welfare of the Negro, and called for the inauguration of active work and the building up of a Negro priesthood and laity.²⁵

However, when Bishop Thompson came to the diocese the same year, there were no Negro clergy and far fewer Negro communicants than in antebellum days. He speedily set to work to implement the resolutions of the Sewanee meeting, approaching the problem in his usual frank, unequivocal fashion. In his 1884 address to the diocesan council, he said:

²²*Journal*, 1889, p. 25; *Journal*, 1890, p. 21.

²³*Journal*, 1887, p. 46, for example.

²⁴Burger, "William Mercer Green," *op. cit.*, pp. 350-351.

²⁵*Journal*, 1884, p. 29.

"More than half living Mississippians are black people. Is the Church's commission to white people only? We have not a single Negro congregation in the Diocese. Is it wise? Is it Christian. . . . The Church has just that to bring to the colored people of Mississippi, which they are not getting in the caricature of Christianity too often preached and professed among them to their physical and spiritual degradation. . . .

"I have no romance and no sentiment on the subject. I profess no attachment nor admiration for Negroes. I am not responsible for the making of them; nor for the putting of them in Mississippi. According to my limited range of vision it would be better if they could be all made white by tomorrow. . . . But here they are, and they are going to stay, and I believe them men as much as we are, with souls for which Christ died, and in His eyes as dear as any of us."²⁶

Again, in 1896, he declared:

"There is no color line in the Church. We can have no black annex, like a tender to a locomotive engine. The black clergyman or delegate has the same rights in our councils as his white brother. . . . We remember that it was a Negro on whom they laid the Cross to carry it after our Lord fell under it on His way to Calvary—a sort of parable of his position then and since and now—a pathetic parable acted by St. Simon the Cyrenian."²⁷

St. Mary's Church, Vicksburg, was organized in 1885 to serve the Negroes of that city, largely as a result of Bishop Thompson's efforts. Twenty-three communicants were reported in 1890.²⁸ St. Mary's Collegiate Institute, organized in connection with St. Mary's, has already been mentioned.

St. Mark's Church, Jackson, was the outgrowth of a mission for Negroes begun in 1883, under the direction of the Rev. Joseph Tucker, rector of St. Andrew's, Jackson, aided by Bishop Thompson.²⁹ The Rev. Richard T. Middleton, a Negro priest, organized Trinity Chapel, Natchez, in 1889.³⁰ This congregation had 52 communicants in 1895.³¹

Thus the diocese resumed, under Bishop Thompson, the task of taking the Church to the Negro. Since this time, Negro congregations,

²⁶*Journal*, 1884, p. 37.

²⁷*Journal*, 1896, p. 49.

²⁸*Journal*, 1885, p. 40; *Journal*, 1890, p. 69.

²⁹*Journal*, 1883, p. 23.

³⁰*Journal*, 1889, p. 38.

³¹*Journal*, 1895, p. 76.

Negro priests, Negro communicants, have played a full part in the life of the diocese.

By 1890, Bishop Thompson could truthfully say:

"Certainly there has been a bracing up of our Diocesan administration, a confidence and feeling of strength on which we may congratulate ourselves, and take courage for the future. One thing I have learned personally that one must work with patience. We cannot hurry matters in Mississippi."³³

The diocese reported 3,029 communicants, a ration of 1 communicant to each 422 of the state population (the 1880 ration had been 1 to 667). Annual confirmations were 318. There were 32 clergy serving 35 parishes, 22 organized missions and 20 unorganized missions. (A number of the 51 parishes reported in 1880 were now more realistically termed missions.) Parish budgets totaled \$42,652.08 (they had been \$27,731.21 in 1880); the diocesan budget was \$4,438.27 (as opposed to \$2,974.61 in 1880). There were 60 church buildings, 16 rectories, 4 parish houses. Ten of the church buildings were in places where none had been before, nine were restored buildings.³⁴

The diocese had balanced its budget every year since Bishop Thompson had been in the state, and, as he pointed out, "in the face of my first year's experience—the loss by a Treasurer's failure, of all our diocesan funds!"³⁵

In addition to a general tightening up of diocesan finances and administration, a new constitution and canons were adopted in 1886.³⁶ The original constitution and canons of 1826 had been revised in 1840 and 1850-53. (Another revision was to take place under Bishop Thompson's direction in 1895 and 1897.)³⁷

It was during Bishop Thompson's episcopate that the first diocesan-wide organization of Mississippi Churchwomen was established. A meeting in 1891 at Natchez set up a diocesan branch of the Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions (now the Woman's Auxiliary to the National Council), a nation-wide group founded nineteen years earlier. Mrs. Hugh Miller Thompson, the bishop's wife, was first president of the diocesan organization. After serving as active president, she was elected honorary president, a post she held until her death in 1924.

³³*Journal*, 1890, p. 36.

³⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 33-36.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 35-36.

³⁶*Journal*, 1886, p. 29.

³⁷*Journal*, 1895, p. 28; *Journal*, 1897, p. 16.

The purposes of the Woman's Auxiliary in Mississippi were: "Daily prayer for missions, the study of missions, systematic giving for missions." Parish branches were soon organized in some 30 towns, and annual meetings of delegates from each parish were inaugurated. These have been an important feature of diocesan life since that time.³⁷ The diocesan council officially commended the Auxiliary in 1893.³⁸

In 1893, the clergy of the diocese commemorated the first ten years of Bishop Thompson's episcopate by presenting him, at the meeting of the diocesan council, with an episcopal ring. The account of this event states that the bishop "was visibly affected," and that he "made a brief but very feeling and earnest address in response. He spoke especially of his longing and earnest desire for love and affection rather than for honor and renown." And he referred to the "whole souled generosity of the South, and especially of Mississippi, a generous magnanimity which prompted them to condone any hastiness of expression and apparent harshness of tone into which he might by stress of zeal at times have been betrayed."³⁹

He then gave a summary of diocesan progress, contrasting 1883 with 1893:

"Some of our most important positions were vacant. From Oxford to State Line on the Central Road, there was but one clergyman, a deacon. In my first visitation, I was appalled by the sight of vacant churches, some going to decay. In some instances, I found their doors and windows swinging open to the weather, nobody to care even to close the building. . . .

"Churches and chapels have been built or rebuilt when burned or fallen to decay as follows: Biloxi, Carrollton, Grenada, Greenville, Port Gibson, Water Valley, Clinton, Crystal Springs, Hernando, West Point, Ocean Springs, Bay St. Louis, Rolling Fork, Sardis, Mayersville, Wesson, St. Mary's (Vicksburg), Trinity Chapel (Natchez). Five of these are of brick and thoroughly substantial and churchly. . . . In addition, a large amount has been expended in the improvements and enlargements of churches and the clearing of debts."⁴⁰

The bishop mentioned also the rebuilt Bishop's Home at Battle Hill, and the stone chapel of St. Columb (first part of a proposed cathedral), the girls' school at Pass Christian, the Negro school at

³⁷Manuscript history of the Woman's Auxiliary, in Archives of the Diocese of Mississippi, Jackson.

³⁸*Journal*, 1893, pp. 30-33.

³⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 28-30.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 45-49.

Vicksburg, and his hopes for a boys' school at Battle Hill. He also spoke of the need for a diocesan missionary or archdeacon, and this post was filled by the appointment of George C. Harris, a longtime missionary priest of the diocese.⁴¹

"I feel," said the bishop, "that I am become a Mississippian, that home and friends and love are here. With clean hands and pure hearts and faith in the Lord who has so far led us on, let us face what the future holds with high hope and a good courage."⁴²

Bishop Thompson was seventy years of age in 1900. Although he was still as active as ever, as zealous for the extension and strengthening of the Church of Christ, he must have known that he had not many more years to serve the diocese. He had attended the third Lambeth Conference in 1897, as he had the preceding one in 1888, had preached at Oxford University, in St. Paul's Cathedral and in Westminster Abbey (speaking as frankly and bluntly as he was wont in Mississippi), and he had taken a notable part in the meetings of Conference committees.⁴³

Although the diocese moved forward, money matters continued to harass the bishop. On the taking over of the affairs of the Trustees of the Episcopal Fund and Church Property by a new group of trustees in 1895, they reported the trust "in a very unsatisfactory and confused condition," and that the "canons have been grossly violated in the lending of money on known insufficient securities." In the words of the bishop, "It seems to be the fact that a large part of the funds reported last year have vanished." It was because of his misgivings that a new group of trustees had been named. Under his direction, a general tightening up of the method for the handling of diocesan funds was arranged, which has maintained them in a solvent condition since that time.⁴⁴

In 1900, the diocesan and parochial budgets totaled \$46,852. There were 27 clergy serving 34 parishes, 22 organized and 25 unorganized missions. There were 64 church buildings, 24 rectories—a considerable increase over 1890. Annual baptisms were 318, confirmations 254. Communicants were 3,792, a ratio of 1 to every 409 of the state's 1,551,270 inhabitants. Lay readers were playing an active part in

⁴¹*Journal*, 1893, p. 50.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁴³*Journal*, 1898, pp. 38 and 44.

⁴⁴*Journal*, 1895, pp. 18-19, 35, 49-50.

maintaining the services of the Church, 16 being active over the diocese.⁴⁵

A functioning convocational system had been one of the earliest interests of Bishop Thompson, and he continued to stress it. The diocese was divided into the convocations of Columbus, Jackson, Pass Christian, Natchez and Oxford.⁴⁶

In 1902, he spoke to the council with considerable feeling concerning the large number of his early friends and co-workers in the diocese and Church at large who had died. He said:

"I am beginning to feel as if I stood alone among graves. Brethren, pray for me that my faith fail not among the clamor and clash of the new day and the strange, cold, new faces.

"But why does a man falter? The Lord of all ages is here and 'the Day of the Lord is at hand' for every generation, and 'the storms ride up the sky' for the younger men as they did for us elders.

"In the last great fight of all, when the battle of Armageddon is ranked and roaring, may some of the walls we builded in heart-sweat and soul-blood, some of the pillars we set up in strain and stress, stand as rallying points for the men that follow us. It is all we can expect, and yet it is the one great reward that God gives his own."⁴⁷

These were his last words to a council of the diocese he had guided for twenty years. Later in 1902, he summoned a special council to meet January 20, 1903, to elect a coadjutor.⁴⁸ But he did not live to see it. He died November 18, and was buried, as he wished, in St. Columb's Chapel, Battle Hill. He now lies in the cemetery of the Chapel of the Cross, Annandale, near Madison.

A memorial sermon for Bishop Thompson was preached in St. Andrew's Church, Jackson, by the Rt. Rev. Thomas F. Gailor of Tennessee, April 28, 1903. (Bishop Gailor had himself been born in Jackson.) "There is no doubt," said Bishop Gailor, "that he would have compelled the attention and interest of men as the head of any Diocese of the Anglican Communion. . . . In England and Ireland as well as in the United States multitude were swayed by his utterances."

Of Hugh Miller Thompson as Bishop of Mississippi, he declared:

⁴⁵*Journal, 1900*, pp. 6 and 67.

⁴⁶*Journal, 1884*, p. 19.

⁴⁷*Journal, 1902*, p. 43.

⁴⁸*Journal of the Special Council . . . of the Diocese of Mississippi* (Jackson, 1903), pp. 6-7.

"Brethren, he was an Apostle, but he was also the servant, the slave of Jesus Christ. . . . It was that that comforted and sustained him through these long years of hard work, of labor that seemed sometime so disappointing. . . . To the people of Mississippi he gave the gifts that were his from God. For you his Brethren and for the Church which he loved he offered his life, his learning, his genius; and he never wavered for an instant in the inevitable confidence of his intellectual grasp upon God's truth, and in his faith, his simple downright faith. . . . It means much to us that a man of such intellectual gifts gave himself for twenty years to the simple monotony of episcopal visitations in town and country, in the Diocese of Mississippi, and counted it glory and honor to be Bishop of the Catholic Church."⁴⁹

Of Bishop Thompson, it might be said in summary that he guided (perhaps "jolted" is a better word) the Diocese of Mississippi from the Old South to the New. It was a process that was sometimes painful, both to the diocese and to its bishop. It was also a process that was chastening and beneficial to both. Diocese and bishop learned much from each other.

Few bishops have as definitely and consistently, year in and year out, been teachers of their people. Some of his characteristic judgments and comments are worth recalling:

On the Authority of the Church: "The Church stands for certain definite ideas. If she did not, she would have no reason to exist. We hold the Church to be a Divine Institution, and as such to have a right to our reverence and obedience."⁵⁰

Of Anglicanism: "It is marvelous how the old Church strains crop out in unexpected quarters and the Church calls her Methodist and Baptist descendants imperatively back to the faith of their race. In explaining the number, and the many times startling unexpectedness of conversions to the Church, we have not given sufficient thought to the scientific reason that Churchmanship is in the blood and bones of the oldest, best and most cultured of Anglo-Saxons."⁵¹

Of the Church in History: "Our Church is a body with ancient law and ancient precedent. We are a part of the world's long history. The Church is no sect of yesterday. It has its grip on and is a great part of the record of human toil and human pain for the uplifting of men and the deliverance of God's world from evil. An Archbishop of Canterbury wrote *Magna*

⁴⁹*Journal*, 1903, p. 49.

⁵⁰*Journal*, 1890, p. 37.

⁵¹*Journal*, 1897, p. 48.

Charta. Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, the Lees, 'the signers' [of the Declaration of Independence], in a great majority, were Churchmen. Another Lee, the greatest of them all, and Jefferson Davis (I am only giving instances) were ours."⁵²

Of the Name of the Church: "We are the Church in America. It ought to be our name, as it would describe the thing; and our doctrine, our ways, our temper are national, as well as Christian."⁵³

Of Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical on Anglican Orders: "The so-called bull, encyclical or whatnot of the present very respectable and very aged and tolerably well educated Bishop of Rome [is] a piece of pure impertinence. If the orders of the Church in England are defective, on his own reasoning, Leo's orders are far more defective, and the orders of the Roman clergy."⁵⁴

On Preaching: "One word on preaching. We need it very plain, and very searching, and very honest. Our people need instruction in the foundations of the Catholic Faith. The 'popular Christianity,' so-called, about us has no vertebrae. It is really a gummy, gelatinous mass, without form and void. There are thousands in our communities dissatisfied and homeless because they take this creedless, dutiless, sentimental wordiness for Christianity."⁵⁵

Of a Native Clergy: "I especially want a Mississippi clergy, and I want them because I hope they may not only have Church principles and true religion, but state pride and state patriotism, and stay stuck fast contentedly in its clinging and affectionate soil!"⁵⁶

⁵²*Journal*, 1902, p. 37.

⁵³*Journal*, 1898, p. 38.

⁵⁴*Journal*, 1897, p. 50.

⁵⁵*Journal*, 1885, p. 49.

⁵⁶*Journal*, 1890, p. 48.

Bishop Henry B. Whipple: Indian Agent Extraordinary

By Everett W. Sterling*

HENRY B. WHIPPLE,¹ first Episcopal Bishop of Minnesota, is perhaps best remembered for his devotion to the Indians of the country. Quite fittingly, when the Cathedral at Faribault was built, the stained glass window featuring Whipple's seal also bore the emblems of a peace pipe and a broken tomahawk, paid for by Christian Indians of the diocese.^{1-a} Just three months after his arrival in Minnesota, he undertook a trip to the Chippewa at Gull Lake, the first of many journeys on behalf of the Indians of Minnesota and the nation, travels which took him to the centers of influence in the East as often as to the centers of trouble in the West. He was no stranger to the labors of the portage, the discomforts of a swampy Indian short cut, or the perils of a winter visit to the plains. Only the quality of

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¹HENRY BENJAMIN WHIPPLE (Feb. 15, 1822-Sept. 16, 1901) was born in Adams, New York, the son of John Hall Whipple, a merchant, and Elizabeth (Wager) Whipple. His formal education was had in local Presbyterian schools and, 1838-1839, at Oberlin College Institute. On October 5, 1842, he married Cornelia Wright, who bore him six children. His wife probably had some influence upon his joining the Episcopal Church. Until his ordination, Whipple was in business with his father and showed talent as a politician in the Democratic party.

Whipple studied for orders under William Dexter Wilson (1816-1900), a noted educator of the day, and was ordered deacon on August 26, 1849, and priest, July 16, 1850—both ordinations having been at the hands of Bishop W. H. DeLancey, of Western New York.

After a successful rectorship of seven years at Zion Church, Rome, New York, Whipple became rector of the Church of the Holy Communion, Chicago, Illinois, 1857-1859. Elected by the convention of the Diocese of Minnesota as its first bishop, he was consecrated on October 13, 1859, in Richmond, Virginia, during the General Convention of that year by Bishop Jackson Kemper and eight other bishops.

As a champion of the Indians, Whipple won national, and even international, fame. His leadership of his diocese was outstanding, and the schools, founded or strengthened by him, are notable today.

Whipple's autobiography, *Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate*, first appeared in 1899, and was reprinted in 1900, 1902 and 1912.—See *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 68-69; George C. Tanner, *Fifty Years of Church Work in the Diocese of Minnesota* (1909).

^{1-a}*St. Paul Daily Pioneer*, May 21, 1869.

his horse, Bashaw, saved him from death on one occasion when he ventured forth into a blizzard.

The most arduous of his trips, one which weakened his health and forced upon him a period of rest in Europe, was undertaken, at first unwillingly, on behalf of the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands of Santee Sioux. As a result of his reputation as a friend of the Indian, Whipple in 1868 had thrust upon him the task of overseeing expenditures for the suffering members of the two bands, located on reservations in Dakota Territory near Fort Wadsworth, west of Lake Traverse, and near Fort Totten, on Devil's Lake, some two hundred miles to the north.

The Indians concerned had been driven from Minnesota during the Sioux war which began in 1862. Some surrendered as early as 1864, and, joined by others, waited in camps established under military direction for the government to renew treaty relations with them. Without annuities, and unable to pursue the fast disappearing buffalo, the Indians were destitute. In winter, the commanders at Forts Wadsworth and Totten gave some relief by issuing surplus stores, usually rusty pork and flour, while a few Indians earned rations by serving as scouts. By all accounts, their lot was hard. In appealing for action, the commander at Fort Wadsworth remarked that, although it would not do to let them die, "it would be much better for them to be in heaven than to lead such a life on the coteau."²

When a treaty was at last signed in 1867, the condition of the Indians did not improve. The first agent assigned under the political spoils system then in vogue undertook to direct affairs from quarters in the state of Minnesota, and seemed more concerned with his own farm than with the problems of his charges. Indeed, such were the complaints of Presbyterian missionaries on the Lake Traverse reservation that, when the Indian appropriation bill of 1868 was in the last stages of passage, members of a joint conference committee inserted the proviso that the \$45,000 appropriated in accordance with the Sisseton-Wahpeton treaty of 1867 should be expended under the direction of Bishop Whipple rather than by the agent assigned by the Indian Office. When challenged by Senator Alexander Ramsey of Minnesota, a committee member explained that Whipple "has given such unwearied attention to this subject, he has thought so much, he has written so much, he has done so much creditable to him," that no invidious distinction was

²Robert H. Rose to Joseph R. Brown, January 21, 1866, Brown Papers, Minnesota Historical Society.

involved in calling for his services rather than those of someone of another faith. The committee "supposed" that Whipple would accept the responsibility.³

When informed of the action of Congress, Whipple immediately declined. It was, he insisted, incompatible with his episcopal duties to undertake to perform the functions of a civil servant, albeit without pay, on behalf of Indians not in his diocese. His school for girls, founded in 1866, was in its infancy and required special attention. The building for his boys' school, Shattuck, burned in 1868, and it was necessary to see to the erection of a new structure. The Cathedral, also at Faribault, was nearing completion, its consecration set for the following summer. In addition, there was the routine business of the diocese and Seabury Divinity School, not to speak of hopes that a college might be established. And there were the extra responsibilities he was accustomed to assume on behalf of the Indians, such as his concern over public charges against the Indian agent which had been appointed for the Chippewa upon his recommendation,⁴ an appearance as an invited guest before the federal Indian Peace Commission in October of 1868,⁵ a report to the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in November, and a special letter to be read at a meeting of the Cooper Institute of New York in December.⁶

Whipple accepted the added burden only upon the urging of Secretary of the Interior O. H. Browning, and when it appeared, in view of the express stipulation in the appropriation measure, that the only way the Treasury Department would permit money to be expended for the benefit of the Sisseton and Wahpeton was over his signature. Bishop William R. Whittingham of Maryland, advised him, "It is your Master's cross and you must bow your shoulders to it."⁷

The purchase of supplies was facilitated by the hearty support Whipple received in many quarters. John Dobson of Philadelphia furnished the best grade of Mackinac blankets at wholesale, and then deducted \$500 from the bill; another firm deducted \$50 from cost price; a third contributed twenty-five kegs of nails, with freight paid as far as Chicago. A Minnesota firm offered special rates for carrying the goods to the Lake Traverse reservation by ox team.⁸

³Congressional Globe, 2nd session, 40th congress, pp. 4271-4273.

⁴St. Paul Daily Pioneer, August 20, 1868.

⁵Ibid., October 11, 1868.

⁶Ibid., December 23, 29, 30, 1868.

⁷Henry B. Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, p. 285.

⁸Whipple to Secretary of the Interior O. H. Browning, December 10, 1868, Office of the Secretary of the Interior, Indian Division, letters received, National Archives; Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, p. 285.

Whipple prevailed upon his friend and one time family physician, Dr. Jared W. Daniels, to assist him in distributing the goods. Daniels had served as agency doctor for the Santee Sioux prior to the Sioux war, and spoke their language.⁹ He left his practice and went to visit the Indians in their camps, arriving in mid-October. When he came to the first village, old and young, blind and halt, men, women, and children, came out to see him.

"I had known them for thirteen years, in peace and plenty, in famine and war," reported Daniels, "and never, at any time, was there so much suffering and utter destitution. . . . A very few of them had some corn, but the majority were without food or clothing and were living on roots."¹⁰

When they learned why Daniels had come, men whom he had never credited with emotion burst into tears.¹¹ One said,

"I have prayed until my heart almost grew faint. I feared the Great Spirit had forsaken us. He has heard our prayer. I see a gleam of hope and we shall live and not die."¹²

Daniels visited every habitation, prepared a list of the members of the bands, and made other preparations for issuing goods when they arrived. The census showed 1,613 Indians, including over 300 belonging on other reservations. It being impractical to send the latter off so late in the season, Daniels arranged to have them rationed from Army stores at Fort Wadsworth.

Bishop Whipple himself undertook a journey to the reservation in November, hoping to complete his visit before winter should set in. His own letter to Secretary Browning best tells the story:¹³

Fort Wadsworth
Nov. 17, 1868

Dear Friend:

I reached this post on Sunday morning in the most severe storm ever known at this season on the coteau. The weather is intensely cold and the wind a hurricane. I never felt so grateful to God for His protecting care, & yet my thoughts

⁹*St. Paul Daily Pioneer*, February 10, 1869; Dr. Jared W. Daniels, "Reminiscences: Sisseton Agency" (typescript), Minnesota Historical Society.

¹⁰*Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, 1869, p. 762.

¹¹*St. Paul Daily Pioneer*, February 10, 1869.

¹²Whipple to Browning, November 17, 1868, Office of the Secretary of the Interior, Indian Division, letters received, National Archives.

¹³Whipple to Browning, November 17, 1868, Office of the Secretary of the Interior, Indian Division, letters received, National Archives.

of gratitude are mingled with sorrow which blinds my eyes with tears. Never have I seen poor wretched creatures in such abject wretchedness. It would melt a heart of stone. I have heretofore felt almost a regret that I took this trust. I do not feel so now, but I thank God who put it in your heart to urge me to take it. They would have died and their blood be another item in the a/c we have been heaping up before God. . . . These poor Indians cling to us like little children. . . . All are ready to work but they are so weak then can do but little. . . ."

With kind regards & praying God to help you

Yours ever

H. B. WHIPPLE

In his official report, the bishop described the journey in more detail:¹⁴

The route is by St. Cloud & Sauk Centre and from there I took a pair of horses & a guide. Much of the way was over pathless prairies & with snow from 6 to 15 inches deep. The stopping places very poor and diet hard, but amid all discomfort I was protected. I came home quite ill from a cold caught one night when I slept in a damp hole dug out of the bank. I am overpaid by the thought that I was able to save some of these Indians from death by starvation.

Whipple's reception was, he said, "such as I had never received from Indians."¹⁵ He showed them samples of the goods to be issued and told them everything needed would be supplied. The blankets to be distributed were better than those formerly sold them by traders for fourteen dollars and had been procured for only four and a half.¹⁶ There was but one catch; all able-bodied men must work. According to the treaty of 1867, under which the money was appropriated, the issuance of goods to the Sisseton and Wahpeton had to be based upon labor performed. The proviso was peculiar to the Sisseton-Wahpeton treaty and did not at all meet with the approval of the older and middle aged, who found it hard to give up their old way of life,¹⁷ involving as it did a change from a meat diet to one that left them hungry, from pur-

¹⁴Whipple to Browning, December 10, 1868, Office of the Secretary of the Interior, Indian Division, letters received, National Archives. In *Lights and Shadows*, p. 290, Whipple wrote that he was forced to spend the night "near some haystacks," in zero weather, when unable to cross thin ice on the Pomme de Terre River near the Minnesota border.

¹⁵St. Paul Daily Pioneer, February 10, 1869.

¹⁶Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, p. 286.

¹⁷Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1869, p. 763.

suits that called for strong legs to ones that required the painful development of arm and chest muscles, and from a social system in which physical labor was deemed womanly to one that held, at least at some levels, that to labor was virtuous in both male and female of the species. At first, some of the men refused to work. Others took a day or two to decide the question; but within a week, said Whipple, all were working like beavers.¹⁸ With few exceptions, they agreed to cut their hair, removing the scalp lock formerly preserved for their enemy as a sign that they would no longer go on the war path.¹⁹

In distributing supplies, Whipple was confronted with a request from the chiefs that certain squaws living as the wives of officers at Fort Wadsworth be refused any share. The affair attracted national attention as a result of a letter of Whipple's that was read at the New York meeting of the Cooper Institute. After referring to the above incident, the bishop remarked that soldiers at the fort had excused their own shortcomings by referring to the conduct of the officers concerned. The *Army and Navy Journal* took immediate offense. Testimony of Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan was published in answer. To make matters worse, the bishop's letter, as reprinted in the *St. Paul Daily Pioneer*, contained an error in punctuation which made it appear that not only the enlisted men, but officers' wives, also, had offered excuses for lapses from virtue. A captain from Fort Wadsworth condemned the account as "a base falsehood and an unmitigated slander." When Daniel's attention was called to a similar liaison a year later, he remarked that, from Bishop Whipple's experience, it was perhaps unwise to notice "this course of an army officer."²⁰

More painful to Whipple was the insistence on the part of some of the same chiefs that no goods should be issued to a party of bedraggled Sisseton and Wahpeton that came in from residences in the state of Minnesota, hoping to share in the treaty benefits. They were, insisted the chiefs, not enrolled as members of the reservation, and must look elsewhere for help.²¹

The problem of caring for the Devil's Lake bands was complicated by the extra distance supplies must be hauled. A local contractor quoted rates which Whipple considered to be extortionate, so he appealed to

¹⁸Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, p. 286.

¹⁹*Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, 1869, p. 769.

²⁰*St. Paul Daily Pioneer*, December 30, 1868, January 1, 17, 24, 1869; Daniels to Henry H. Sibley, January 25, 1870, Sibley Papers, Minnesota Historical Society.

²¹"Narrative of Paul Mazakootemane" (translated by Stephen R. Riggs), *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 3:90.

the Army. Through the Secretary of War and General W. T. Sherman, it was arranged that the commandant of Fort Totten should issue pork and flour from his supplies, payment being made by Whipple to the quartermaster-general of the district.²² The system led to charges from some of the Indians that it was the Army that fed them, and that Whipple used none of the funds earmarked for Devil's Lake in caring for their needs. The disappointed contractor also joined in the cry.²³

Daniels did not remain among the Indians all winter, but returned to Faribault. The responsibility for overseeing the monthly issue of food was assigned to Thomas Robertson, a half-breed who had served as interpreter for Rev. S. D. Hinman at the Episcopal Church's mission to the Santee prior to 1862. In 1864, he had translated a part of the Prayer Book for Whipple.²⁴ When Daniels returned to Fort Wadsworth in the spring of 1869, the principal task was to set the Indians to work as agriculturalists. Fortunately, a number of those on the Lake Traverse reservation had learned the rudiments of farming prior to 1862. Whipple deliberately refrained from purchasing agricultural implements that would require the employment of white operators. He was anxious to develop the habit of labor, and supplied instead axes, spades, scythes, hoes, cattle and plows. Daniels succeeded in getting some 160 heads of families to leave the Indian camps and settle on individual farms. Whipple urged, without success, that the government should break up the reservation to the extent of issuing patents for these farms.

"It is the only course," he said, "to save the Indians from the avaricious scheme of bad men who, by bribing of the chiefs, can defraud the tribe of its lands. It is also the most effective plan to give to the individual Indian those manly characteristics and home attachments which only belong to those who have a fixed and permanent residence which they can call their own."²⁵

A Mr. Peter Sutherland was hired to purchase cattle and seed for the Devil's Lake reservation. When it appeared that Sutherland contemplated communal farms, Daniels protested that individual responsibility alone could civilize the bands.²⁶ He advised against spend-

²²*Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1869*, p. 770.

²³Commanding Officer, Ft. Ransom, to Brig. Gen. Green, October 24, 1869, Sibley Papers; Whipple to Browning, December 10, 1868, Office of the Secretary of the Interior, Indian Division, letters received, National Archives.

²⁴"Reminiscence of Thomas A. Robertson," *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 20:567, 592, 594.

²⁵*Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1869*, pp. 769-770.

²⁶Daniels to Whipple, May 26, 1869, Sibley Papers.

ing much for work oxen or agricultural implements until the Indians there could be persuaded to settle down on separate plots of farm land.²⁷ Little progress was made in teaching them to be self-supporting in the short time available, and, even in summer, it was necessary to continue the arrangement whereby the Army supplied a meager diet for the Indians around Fort Totten.²⁸

In March of 1869, Congress appropriated a further \$60,000 to be expended under Whipple's direction. The sum was carried onto the books of the Secretary of the Interior, and was, in this instance, expended under the general oversight of that department. Shortly thereafter, the secretary informed Whipple that Daniels would be named to replace Thompson as agent, thus eliminating the anomalous duplication of authority and divided councils that had complicated dealings with the Indians heretofore.²⁹

In July, Whipple visited the Lake Traverse reservation for the second time, and found them contented and happy; he was gratified with their marked improvement. Everything, he said, "betokens a people engaged in the peaceful avocations of an agricultural life." He found it impossible, because of his health, to go as far afield as Devil's Lake.³⁰ That same month he asked the Secretary of the Interior to be relieved of his Indian duties, but was told that Treasury rules were inexorable. When advised by his physician that his life was in danger, and that he should spend the following winter abroad,³¹ Whipple arranged for Henry H. Sibley, a member of the Episcopal Church and a prominent Minnesota businessman, to serve as his agent in expending the balance of the funds. A power of attorney was executed a few days before Whipple left the United States.³²

On Sunday, September 26, he bade farewell to the congregation of the parish in a brief address in the cathedral. He was escorted to the train the next day by cadets of Shattuck School, and set out for Europe. Before leaving the country, he prepared a pastoral letter, addressed from Philadelphia. He was leaving, he wrote, at the very time when he had hoped to reap the rewards of the faithful labors of the members of the diocese and to see the fulfillment of their plans. He embarked for

²⁷Daniels to Whipple, May 28, 1869, Sibley Papers.

²⁸Gen. Winfield S. Hancock to Whipple, May 30, 1869, Sibley Papers.

²⁹U. S. *Statutes at Large*, 15:315; Secretary of the Interior to Whipple, March 25, April 2, 1869, Office of the Secretary of the Interior, letters sent, National Archives.

³⁰*Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, 1869, p. 771.

³¹Secretary of the Interior J.D. Cox to Whipple, July 13, 1869, Sibley Papers.

³²The power of attorney, dated October 5, 1869, is among the Sibley Papers.

Liverpool aboard the Cunard steamship, *Cuba*, the first part of October.³³

The rest and change of climate had the desired effect. On Christmas day, Whipple, from Monaco, cabled greetings to his wife, and reported that he was "decidedly better."³⁴

Dr. Daniels, in the meantime, had replaced Thompson as agent for the Sisseton and Wahpeton. Under his direction, the Indians made encouraging advances in the direction of self-support as agriculturalists in the next two years. The task of changing the way of life of a whole people is not, however, the work of a day. Had men of Daniel's caliber continued to manage the affairs of the agency, the transformation would have been speeded. Unfortunately, before many years, the appointment of agents was restored to the realm of party spoils. In addition, white farmers soon encompassed the reservation, bringing new and complex problems, problems which one would like to record had been met in the same spirit with which Bishop Whipple responded in 1868 and 1869.

³³St. Paul *Daily Pioneer*, September 30, October 9, 20, 1869.

³⁴St. Paul *Daily Pioneer*, December 29, 1869.

Flavel Scott Mines, Unofficial Missionary to California, 1849

By Lionel Utley Ridout*



WO priests, who went to California upon their own initiative, were actually responsible for the establishment of the Episcopal Church in the state. They were the Rev. Flavel Scott Mines and the Rev. John Leonard VerMehr, both of whom had some claim to having been named official missionaries, particularly the latter.

The year 1849 was filled with more activity so far as the Church was concerned than had before been the case, for it saw the arrival of Mines and VerMehr in California, the establishment of their two churches in San Francisco, the tentative spread of the Church in the area, and the interest and advice of the Rev. R. Townsend Huddart, who, despite his willingness to brave the wilds of the new West, did not reach the coast until 1850. It will perhaps be wise to consider Dr. Huddart's suggestions before dealing with Mines, for in his plans can be seen the naive thinking of Easterners who knew little but legend of the California West.

In September, 1849, the Rev. Dr. Huddart published an appeal in behalf of the Church in California.¹ In the pamphlet, he indicated that he intended, with divine permission, to settle in California, there to unite his ministerial duties with the cause of collegiate education. Trusting in public interest in moral welfare, Huddart solicited funds from his friends and the general public to purchase a church building, of which he would have the pastoral charge.²

Dr. Huddart felt that a gift from Eastern Episcopalians to their brethren "of the same household of faith in that distant land" would be very highly prized. He stated that it was known that not even a room could be obtained for religious purposes,³ except for such rent

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¹R. Townsend Huddart, *Appeal on Behalf of the Church in California* (New York, 1849), 1. Hereafter cited as Huddart, *Appeal*.

²*Ibid.*, 3.

³Dr. Huddart was incorrect, for services had been held and were being held in San Francisco, and Holy Trinity Church was already being established.

as would preclude the idea altogether. His information was that this difficulty in obtaining space was the result of an excessive demand for every type of building, whether for dwellings or stores, and because of the exorbitant prices of material and labor.⁴ What Huddart did not know, or failed to realize, was that the faithful willingly loaned their homes or made possible the use of public buildings for church services —when there were priests to officiate.

Huddart mentioned the unparalleled emigration to California, and suggested a plan which he hoped would be adopted to insure regular celebration of divine services without interruption while awaiting the erection of a church.⁵ He was correct in his statement concerning the great emigration to California. In less than two months prior to January 20, 1849, ninety-nine vessels had left the eastern United States bound for the West Coast. These ships carried 5,619 passengers, including officers and crews. Fifty-two of the ships sailed from New York, and nineteen from Boston; eighty of the total went around the Horn. Emigration increased, and on February 1, 1849, sixty vessels advertised in the New York papers that they would sail for California, a trip which required 150 days if it followed the 17,000 miles around the Horn, or forty to fifty days if it covered the 8,500 miles via Panama.⁶ At this same time, the adjutant-general of the United States Army was advertising for twenty clergymen to fill posts as chaplains; the advertisement indicated that they would be required to act as school-masters, would receive daily rations and forty dollars per month, and would be sent to both Oregon and California.⁷

Dr. Huddart explained that no plan similar to his had been projected to aid the Californians. It had been thought, he stated, that a fund had been raised some months earlier, but that supposition was wrong. He felt that if his appeal for funds was successful it would mean the erection of the first Episcopal Church building in California.⁸ Again Huddart was wrong, for Holy Trinity Church was established in 1849.⁹

Even though he was mistaken about the building of a church, Huddart recognized that there was already religious activity in California. He emphasized the fact that his proposed movement would not inter-

⁴Huddart, *Appeal*, 3.

⁵*Ibid.*, 4.

⁶"Emigration to California," in *Spirit of Missions*, XIV (April, 1849), 160.

⁷*Spirit of Missions*, XIV (April, 1849), 110. No title to article.

⁸Huddart, *Appeal*, 4.

⁹Frank Soule, and others, eds., *The Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), 694.

fer with missionaries already in the West, and he felt that the supply could not equal the spiritual demand. He pointed out that the ultimate objective of his plan was to apply for a charter and appropriation for a college as soon as the people had power to grant them, in other words, as soon as California became a state. In that way, he felt he could combine religion and education while differentiating his task from that of missionary work proper.¹⁰

Dr. Huddart believed that before an institution of higher learning could, or should, be established, a foundation would have to be laid by the forming of a grammar school, to be conducted on sound principles of Christian education. Such a school would, he said, require management by someone who possessed the confidence of the community, and who would give the family a chance to bring up children "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."¹¹

To accomplish his objective, Huddart appealed first for a building to be devoted to the "Ministrations of the Sanctuary." Experience had taught him that unless something of the sort were done, there would be little hope of increasing Church membership in California. The cost of the church building he desired would have to run about three thousand dollars, including freight. His desire was to have the church built of iron, according to the plans of an architect, and to have it so constructed that it could be taken apart in sections, shipped to California, and afterwards be easily put together in a few days.¹² Apparently, prefabricated buildings were not new even then. Bishop Kip also mentioned them in his *Early Days of My Episcopate*.

Huddart emphasized that the urgent need for a church was not based solely on the young people of California. It was for the adult population, who had recently left their homes, that speedy action was necessary. He wanted them to be the first recipients of his Christian offering. He felt that not only might souls be saved, but also that a large number of people would retain their own communion rather than attach themselves to another, as they would do if there were no Episcopal Church. He attempted to arouse public emotion by suggesting that donors might be ministering to their relatives and friends, and he played a trump-card by indicating that the support of the priest-in-charge was not under consideration in his appeal. If the church were donated

¹⁰Huddart, *Appeal*, 4.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 4-5.

¹²*Ibid.*, 5-6.

and he was chosen rector, he said, he would earn his own way by his energy and exertion.¹³

Huddart closed his appeal by announcing that contributions could be made in general or for specific purposes, and that they would be placed in the hands of D. A. Cushman, business man, the money being disbursed by two other laymen, Schuyler Livingston and Stephen Cambreleng, evidently financiers. The priest was able to enlist the aid of twelve New York clergymen, who signed the appeal with him. However, his grandiose plans were not carried out even though he eventually reached California, for the clearing in the forest had already been made. In 1850, it was announced that he was appointed a missionary to California as of January 1, 1851.¹⁴

In the meantime, the two clergymen, Mines and VerMehr, arrived in California in 1849. Flavel Scott Mines was born December 11, 1811,¹⁵ in Leesburg, Virginia, the son of the Rev. John Mines, a Presbyterian minister. Graduating from Princeton Theological Seminary in 1831, Flavel Mines was ordained evangelist by the presbytery of the District of Columbia a year later. The young minister led a somewhat varied career for a few years, being Seaman's Chaplain at Le Havre, France, from 1832 to 1834; assistant pastor of the English Congregational Church in Paris during 1834-1835; and pastor of the Laight Street Presbyterian Church, New York, from 1835-1840.¹⁶

Apparently dissatisfied with his own denomination, Mines decided to enter the Episcopal Church. On April 3, 1842, he was ordained deacon, and about seven months later, November 27, 1842, was ordained priest by Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk of New York. For a short time, he served as assistant to the rector of St. George's Church, New York, and after that officiated as rector of St. Paul's Church on the island of St. Croix, West Indies. His delicate health shortly forced his return to the United States, where he served for a brief period as rector of St. Luke's Church on Staten Island.¹⁷ The next step was to California.

Why Mines, thirty-eight years old and already suffering from

¹³Huddart, *Appeal*, 6.

¹⁴*Spirit of Missions*, XV (August, 1850), 310.

¹⁵Edward L. Parsons, "The Church Rush in the Gold Rush; Beginnings of the Episcopal Church in San Francisco," in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XIX (June, 1950), 85, note 4. Hereafter cited as Parsons, HMPEC. Douglass O. Kelley, *History of the Diocese of California 1849-1914* (San Francisco, n. d.), 340, gives the birth date as December 21, as does the San Francisco *Morning Call*, June 25, 1893.

¹⁶Parsons, "Church Rush," HMPEC, XIX, 85, note 4.

¹⁷*Idem*.

tuberculosis, chose to go west as an unofficial missionary is somewhat hard to fathom. Certainly the climate had not yet become famous as a cure-all. The story of his reason for going is somewhat confused, as is the actual founding of his church, Holy Trinity, for conflicting claims and conflicting allegiances caused minor controversies which beclouded the issues. By combining, comparing and contrasting the accepted and semi-official story with the official statement of the vestry of Holy Trinity in 1850, an approach to actuality may be established.

It can probably be accepted that, as a clergyman of evangelistic tendencies, Mines wished to go to California. The record shows that influential citizens of San Francisco had written to the East requesting an Episcopal priest; Mines was apparently the answer to that plea, although there is evidence that VerMehr, who also asked to go west, may have felt that he, rather than Mines, was the priest requested. There is some indication that Mines was packed off to the coast hurriedly, so that he would reach California before Dr. VerMehr, who was scheduled to travel around the Horn. VerMehr knew that Mines was going to California, for he had been told the fact by the secretary of the Board of Missions, after he, VerMehr, had passed Mines in the Board rooms one day.¹⁸ Mines took the Panama route and thus reached California first. The rub was to come when VerMehr discovered Holy Trinity Church already established in San Francisco, and when it was found that an original member of the vestry of what became Holy Trinity had allegedly suggested that VerMehr go west and promised him support in building another church. At any rate, Mines reached San Francisco probably in June, 1849, and by July Holy Trinity Church had come into existence, the first parochial organization of the Episcopal Church in California.¹⁹

The generally accepted date for Mines' first service in California is July 8, 1849.²⁰ There is some question as to whether he conducted the service, assisted by the Rev. Augustus Fitch, or whether it was conducted by Fitch, assisted by Mines.²¹ At any rate, the meeting was

¹⁸John L. VerMehr, *Checkered Life: In the Old and New World* (San Francisco, 1877), 322. Hereafter cited as Ver Mehr, *Checkered Life*.

¹⁹Soulé, *Annals of San Francisco*, 693.

²⁰Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-1890), VII, 728. Hereafter cited as Bancroft, *California. One Hundred Years a Parish* (San Francisco, 1949), 7. *Morning Call*, June 25, 1893. Kelley, *Diocese of California*, 8, says July 8 or 22.

²¹*One Hundred Years a Parish*, 8, says Mines was assisted by Fitch. Charles G. Williamson, "The Annals of Grace Church," in *Pacific Churchman*, VII (November 7, 1872), 1, says Fitch invited Mines to assist him at a service in the American Hotel, known as Merrill's House, and that Fitch ceased his services when Holy Trinity was established.

held at the American Hotel on Stockton Street,²² and both priests were present.

There seems to be little information extant about Mr. Fitch.^{22-a} However, he apparently reached California before Mines. Early records showed erroneously that Fitch had held services in San Francisco on the arrival of the pioneer steamship *California*, February 28, 1849. A later search of ship logs disclosed that there was no clergyman of that name aboard the vessel, but that a Rev. Mr. Fitch of the Episcopal Church was on the *Panama* during its first trip to San Francisco,²³ arriving June 4, 1849.²⁴ Apparently, he preached in Sutterville²⁵ a few Sundays after his arrival. Another report shows that Fitch held a service in the American Hotel in San Francisco in 1849,²⁶ and that he invited Mines to assist him in the same place. For a time, Fitch was rector at Christ Church, Marysville, but he found it necessary to leave the California area in 1852.²⁷

²²Between Broadway and Vallejo.

^{22-a}AUGUSTUS FITCH (died Nov. 16, 1874) was a teacher who was ordered deacon by Bishop Hobart of New York on May 26, 1818. He continued his teaching and remained a deacon for something over ten years, but in 1832 he is listed as "Rector of St. Ann's Church, and Principal of an Academy at Bloomingdale, New York" (General Convention, *Journal*, 1832, p. 142).

The Board of Missions of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society sent Fitch as a missionary to St. Charles, Missouri, where he arrived in December, 1836:

"He reported that during the winter he suffered many privations, but with the coming of spring he was encouraged with the prospect of success. At his own expense, he fitted up a building for use as a church and organized a Sunday school" [HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XXIV (1955), p. 53.]

In 1838, Fitch returned to New York, and took up residence in Tompkinsville, Staten Island, for several years. Apparently, he journeyed to the Hawaiian Islands, then called the Sandwich Islands, and from this latter area arrived in California in 1849.

D. O. Kelley, *op. cit.*, describes him as "an elderly priest" (p. 10); he was the permanent president of the famous "California Convention of 1850" (p. 11); and he was a member of the first Standing Committee of the diocese (p. 442).

Fitch left California about 1852, and the General Convention *Journals* henceforth list him as residing in New York City, with no permanent cure, until his death.

²³*Pacific Churchman*, II, (May 14, 1868), 381. This story was apparently taken from an earlier issue of the San Francisco *Daily Alta California*.

²⁴The official date of the arrival is listed as June 8, but Bancroft, *California*, VI, 137-138, notes 30 and 31, prefers to accept the June 4 date, basing it on items in newspapers of a somewhat later period. The importance of the date here is just that it places Fitch in California before Mines.

²⁵Sacramento.

²⁶Williamson, in *Pacific Churchman*, VII (November 7, 1872), 1. No date is given for this service, but it was probably prior to the July 8 date when Mines and Fitch conducted the services together.

²⁷*Journal of the Proceedings of the Second Triennial Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in California* (San Francisco, 1853), 3. Hereafter cited as JCC.

Mines' arrival in San Francisco in answer to the request of certain citizens was a signal for something to be done about building a church and forming a parish. The clergyman held another service on July 15 at the American Hotel,²⁸ and during the following week matters came to a head. A committee was appointed, which notified interested people that a meeting was to be held at the home of John H. Merrill on July 20,²⁹ when it was hoped that measures expedient to establishing a church would be adopted.³⁰

The meeting was held on July 22 after Morning Prayer,³¹ when some forty-one³² members met at Merrill's home on Pacific Street.³³ Col. Jonathan Stephenson presided at the meeting,³⁴ at which those present resolved to form themselves into a congregation, "The Holy Trinity Church," and "to be forever subject to the doctrine, discipline, rights and usages of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America."³⁵ These last words hold some interest when it is realized that, under VerMehr's leadership, Mines let himself contemplate union with the Greek Orthodox Church a few months later, and participated in setting up a diocesan organization and electing a bishop without conferring with the Church in the eastern United States.

On July 29, a second meeting was held, the wardens and vestry were elected,³⁶ Mines was invited to become rector,³⁷ and on August 6, 1849, he was formally elected rector.³⁸ Shortly after the July 29

²⁸*One Hundred Years a Parish*, 8.

²⁹Probably a typographical error. July 20 was a Friday and the meeting was actually scheduled for a Sunday after the service.

³⁰*San Francisco Daily Alta California*, July 26, 1849. Hereafter cited as *Daily Alta*.

³¹Bancroft, *California*, VII, 728. *One Hundred Years a Parish*, 8. *Daily Alta*, January 20, 1867, says Holy Trinity began July 8, 1849. However, this is stretching matters, for, while it was the date of Mines' first service, no action was then taken to form a parish. This same article gives July 23 as the date of the resolutions to form a congregation, but that must be either poor reporting or a typographical error.

³²*San Francisco Morning Call*, June 25, 1893. Hereafter cited as *Morning Call*. Bancroft, *California*, VII, 728, says 22 members were present.

³³*Morning Call*, June 25, 1893.

³⁴*One Hundred Years a Parish*, 8. An error here gives his first name as Jonah rather than Jonathan.

³⁵*Morning Call*, June 25, 1893.

³⁶*One Hundred Years a Parish*, 8. Bancroft, *California*, VII, 728.

³⁷*Daily Alta*, January 20, 1867, says Mines was invited to become rector on July 30, and that the invitation was "to become rector until a rector was chosen."

³⁸Bancroft, *California*, VII, 728. *Daily Alta*, January 20, 1867.

meeting, Mines took a short trip to Sacramento, where, in August, as a result of his visit, a parish was formed and a vestry was elected.³⁹

Returning to San Francisco, Mines worked hard to establish his church, and he worked against great odds of frustration and sickness. Nevertheless, he was able to build, and the little church, a curious building of sheet-iron plastered inside,⁴⁰ was constructed on the southwest corner of Powell and Jackson streets,⁴¹ on a fifty-vara lot purchased from H. Grimes.⁴² The contract was apparently let in August,⁴³ and the church completed on October 26. The cost was \$8000.⁴⁴ The first service in the new building was held on the Sunday after its completion, October 28, 1849.⁴⁵ At that service, only gold was placed in the alms basin, and no one put in less than twenty-five dollars.⁴⁶ Mines struggled to make the parish a growing concern, but as late as March, 1851, Holy Trinity was still struggling and seemed less prosperous than the newer Grace Church over which Dr. VerMehr presided.⁴⁷

The advent of Dr. VerMehr caused a controversy among the people who supported him and those who favored Mines, although the two priests were able to resolve their differences and become friends. The argument between the two groups arose over an attempt on the part of VerMehr's adherents to persuade Mines to establish a mission in another part of California, offering him \$3000 a year to do so.⁴⁸ This request was apparently based on the fact that it was believed two churches would be too many for San Francisco, particularly as they were only a block apart, and on the fact that Mines was, after all, unofficial. However, Mines would not be persuaded, and so conflict began.

This entire controversy was aired in the *Daily Alta California*,

³⁹William H. Hill, "Grace Church, Sacramento—Anniversary Sermon," in *Pacific Churchman*, II (May 21, 1868), 389. The Rev. Mr. Burnham became rector of this church in September, 1849, according to Hill. Bancroft, *California*, VII, 728, places Burnham as rector in November, and says that he died in April, 1850.

⁴⁰William Ingraham Kip, *The Early Days of My Episcopate* (New York, 1892), 89-90. Hereafter cited as Kip, *Early Days*.

⁴¹*One Hundred Years a Parish*, 8.

⁴²*Daily Alta*, January 20, 1867.

⁴³Bancroft, *California*, VII, 728, gives this month but says the contract was not carried for "some months." However, as the church was occupied by the end of October, not too much time could have been lost. The *Daily Alta*, January 20, 1867, says the contract was signed October 6, 1849, which would have left only twenty days to build the church.

⁴⁴*Morning Call*, June 25, 1893.

⁴⁵*One Hundred Years a Parish*, 8. *Morning Call*, June 25, 1893.

⁴⁶*Idem*.

⁴⁷"The California Letters of Edward Hotchkiss," in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XII (June, 1933), 106. Hereafter cited as "Hotchkiss Letters," CHSQ.

⁴⁸VerMehr, *Checkered Life*, 340.

which helped to widen the rift between the two congregations. The official statement of the vestry of Holy Trinity, published in May, 1850, served to clarify several confused points concerning the founding of the church and the Mines-Fitch-VerMehr relationship.

The matter was first brought to public attention through a letter to the *Daily Alta*, written by A. M. Van Nostrand. Apparently a meeting had been held, either in March or April, 1850, after a service at Mines' church. During this meeting, a number of subscribers to Holy Trinity were accused of being defaulters, among them one Rodman Price. As Price was away and could not defend himself, Van Nostrand spoke for him through the newspaper.⁴⁹

According to Van Nostrand, Mr. Price and others had visited the United States in the spring of 1849. While there, they met VerMehr, invited him to go to California with his family, and promised to assist and support him in building a church. The following summer, VerMehr was appointed missionary to California by the Board of Missions, and he finally sailed west.⁵⁰

Van Nostrand then stated in his letter that in May or June of 1849 the Rev. Augustus Fitch had called on Price and proposed to organize a parish, preparatory to the arrival of VerMehr; Fitch was to be temporary rector only. Price fell in with the plan, united with Fitch, was chosen a vestryman, and worked to secure subscriptions.⁵¹

At the first meeting of the vestry, held while Price was absent from the city, Mines, now in San Francisco, but without being instrumental in any way either in developing the church or in the election, was made permanent rector. Price thereupon resigned from the vestry and had his name taken from the subscription list, which had been designed, Van Nostrand said, for the missionary chapel of San Francisco, not for an independent church. Price, who remained in San Francisco until January 15, 1850, was never approached for a donation to Mines' church. However, he had been asked to aid the missionary chapel, and he had given in all \$1300.⁵² Such was Van Nostrand's attempt to prevent Price's being called a defaulting subscriber to Holy Trinity Church.

Van Nostrand's version of the situation was answered in full by the vestry of Holy Trinity, which, taking exception to the whole letter with its confusion of dates and events, was particularly irked at the

⁴⁹*Daily Alta*, April 24, 1850.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, April 24, 1850. VerMehr, *Checkered Life*, 314-316, confirms that he first heard of California through Rodman Price, and that Price urged him to go to California.

⁵¹*Daily Alta*, April 24, 1850.

⁵²*Ibid.*

paragraph outlining the Fitch-Price-VerMehr relationship, and at the statement that Mines had been in no way instrumental in establishing the church.⁵³

The vestry first disposed of the alleged charges against Rodman Price. It said that Van Nostrand need have made no attempt to exonerate Price, for there had been no thought or wish to denounce him as a defaulter. Price, the vestry pointed out, had never been asked to give money to Holy Trinity, a fact which indicated that he was not considered responsible for a subscription "made before the organization of the parish, and the settlement of its rector, and by him avowedly intended for a different enterprise and for another person."⁵⁴ Because of this situation, Price's subscription had been announced as withdrawn, not unpaid. It had not been thought necessary to state the cause, for everyone understood it.

The vestry then took up the matter of Holy Trinity.

There may have been a meeting of Price and Fitch, as Van Nostrand stated, but it did not result in the organization of a parish. A meeting was held after the service on July 22, and at that time Mines had made an address, in which he informed those present that a missionary was on his way to California, and that he, Mines, did not desire in any way to interfere with the missionary department. Mines knew that a large number of bishops, clergy and laity were convinced that California needed and deserved the establishment of a church on a parochial and diocesan basis. However, he had felt that it would be asking too much of the thousands of waiting people to force them to wait until the Board of Missions acted, and that it would be an injustice to the board and to many unpaid and suffering missionaries to demand help from a weakened treasury. Mines also pointed out at the meeting that he understood that the Board of Missions was considering allowing no more funds to California.⁵⁵

Although Mines had been chosen to go to California, and had accepted the call, he was almost prevented from doing so by the death of a daughter. But, with his daughter dead, he decided he wanted to serve by preaching the gospel, and he felt an obligation to do what he had long tried to persuade others without ties to do. This decision was apparently reached before the Board of Missions thought of California as a missionary field. Once decided, Mines gathered a number of recom-

⁵³*Daily Alta*, May, 1850.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁵*Ibid.* The Missionary Committee actually stopped sending funds to California in 1850.

mendations and a letter from a large group of clergy and laity, travelled to California, and presented his credentials to the community of San Francisco.⁵⁶

With Mines' arrival, Holy Trinity was organized. Rodman Price was not present at either meeting of organization. Had he been, he would not have consented to serve as a vestryman, for he had told Mines from the beginning that he could not cooperate with him.⁵⁷

The vestry statement on the background was explicit, for it did not wish to give the impression, which would have been the case unless the facts were stated, that it or Mines had accepted or made over a parish organized by a second group and intended for a third.⁵⁸

The members of Holy Trinity felt that Mines had had a right to go to California, both as a clergyman and as one sanctioned and commended by ecclesiastical authority. He had also brought letters from clergy and laity, and he had been urged by many people in the East to follow their sons and brothers. In addition, he had been invited by a number of immigrants to come to California as their pastor. The vestry was unable to see why a request and a promise to a missionary board by two or three people should prevent a large group from choosing its own rector, especially when the smaller group had asked for a school teacher and missionary only if the Board of Missions would incur part of the expense.⁵⁹

The vestry also defended Mines on the ground that, when he arrived in San Francisco, the population was at least 10,000 men, and rapidly increasing. From a religious point of view, this increase was alarming and pointed to a need for more than one priest.⁶⁰

Further reasons for Mines' retaining his rectorship, and refusing to leave San Francisco as urged by the VerMehr group, were given. It was re-emphasized that Fitch had not formed a parish on a temporary basis until VerMehr arrived, and neither Fitch nor Price were present at either organizational meeting. Mines, himself, had called the meeting at which the first Episcopal Church in San Francisco was organized, and he was the first to address the meeting at which Col. J. D. Stevenson had been the first to respond. As a matter of fact, it was Mines who had prepared and presented the articles of organization under which the church was constituted, and he had suggested the style

⁵⁶*Daily Alta*, May 1, 1850.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

⁵⁸*Ibid.*

⁵⁹*Ibid.*

⁶⁰*Ibid.*

and title by which the parish was to be designated. Proof of this was in the fact that he had brought to California with him plans for a Trinity Church and books for the altar, which had been transcribed with the name before the priest had left the East. His sole purpose had been to begin a foundation for the Church in California.⁶¹

The vestry also pointed out that the Church of the Holy Trinity, so far as it was informed, was the first parish west of the Rocky Mountains to be in communion with the Church in the East [a statement not quite accurate], just as its church was the first edifice erected in the Pacific area for the celebration of Episcopal Church rites. The group felt that it had done only what any other city would have done and had a right to do, and hoped that it would be left alone to enjoy its rights and privileges as Episcopalians.⁶²

Flavel Mines was so upset by the controversy that he offered to resign in favor of the missionary, or to vacate his post if another prominent clergyman would come to take over. He had already relinquished his claim to a considerable sum of money in New York so that it might be used to send other clergymen west, and he had told his vestry that if a bishop could be secured he would give him the post and income.⁶³

The statement of the vestry of Holy Trinity apparently settled the argument between the two groups, for both churches continued to exist and grow despite their proximity. Mines remained as rector until he died in 1852, and VerMehr guided Grace Church until the arrival of Bishop Kip.

While their respective congregations engaged in debate, Mines and VerMehr were able to resolve whatever differences they may have had, and to act as friends and brother clergymen. VerMehr arrived in San Francisco in September, 1849. On September 20, he was asked by Mines to take the service on the following Sunday. Holy Trinity was then using the "Kremlin" on Stockton Street until its own building should be completed.⁶⁴ VerMehr, proud of being the first official missionary to California, confessed in his autobiography that he would have been startled to find Mines in San Francisco had he not known

⁶¹*Daily Alta*,

⁶²*Ibid.*

⁶³*Ibid.*

⁶⁴VerMehr, *Checkered Life*, 338-339.

the other priest had been there since June or July.⁶⁵ In the beginning, VerMehr felt a little bitter that Mines had reached San Francisco first, but the latter was so cordial that the official missionary lost his bitterness. The result was that VerMehr accepted the invitation to preach, and so held his first California service under the auspices of Holy Trinity Church on September 23, 1849.⁶⁶

The two gentlemen were puzzled about how to proceed relative to their two congregations and organizations. They held a conference on what was to be done. VerMehr felt that the missionary sent by the Church had been supplanted by one sent by private individuals. Holy Trinity had been organized for two months, and the question was whether there was room for two churches. What was the missionary to do? Those who had sent him felt bound to cling to him, as those who had asked Mines felt responsibility for him.⁶⁷

In the meantime, VerMehr became better acquainted with Mines, liked him and consented to assist him at the service as requested. Mines was able to disarm VerMehr by reading the 107th Psalm beginning, "How vast must their advantage be, how great their pleasures prove, who live like brethren and consent in offices of love."⁶⁸ The choice can be admired, although VerMehr apparently misquoted, for Psalm 107 does not begin in this way. Nevertheless, the two men worked together as good friends.

The decision of the priests was that there was room for two churches in San Francisco. Bishop Kip later wrote that this was a sad mistake which the Church still felt as late as 1892, for two congregations divided the energy of the institution.⁶⁹ It was at about this point that VerMehr's friends tried to urge Mines to leave San Francisco.

An interesting view of the religious situation in California in 1850 was written by one Edward Hotchkiss, a merchant from New England, who spent seventeen months in San Francisco and Sacramento. On June 9, Hotchkiss wrote to his mother that he had, the Sunday before, attended Mr. Mines' church and found it filled to overflowing. Mr. Mines had delivered a fine sermon. However, the merchant found that Sunday was a good deal desecrated in San Francisco; there were

⁶⁵The way VerMehr writes, and reading between the lines, implies to some extent that he was annoyed to find Mines there and that Mines should have known better than to remain in California. That there was some jealousy on VerMehr's part is unmistakable.

⁶⁶VerMehr, *Checkered Life*, 338-339.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 339-340.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 340.

⁶⁹Kip, *Early Days*, 94.

riding, gambling and other sorry activities, but he was pleased to report that the churches were better attended than formerly, and he felt that as a higher class of people settled in the city things would assume a better aspect.⁷⁰

In August, 1850, Hotchkiss once more mentioned the church situation. Writing from San Francisco, he told his mother that the clergyman he had heard that morning had brought tears to the eyes of most of his hearers. He mentioned that Mr. Mines had returned to the United States⁷¹ and that Holy Trinity was being supplied by the Rev. Dr. Huddart.⁷² Hotchkiss had heard Huddart preach in Panama also. Hotchkiss said that he did not like the pastor of the other Episcopal Church at all, as he could not speak English understandably.⁷³ The man referred to was, of course, VerMehr, and the statement was an omen of what was to plague the little Belgian later. Hotchkiss added that, judging from VerMehr's dress, he was more of a Puseyite⁷⁴ than Mines or any others of the city. He also mentioned the first Episcopal convention in California, 1850, and noted that the Rt. Rev. Horatio Southgate had been elected bishop of California.⁷⁵ The controversy over the first convention and Dr. Southgate is not appropriate for discussion in this present essay.

Hotchkiss also noted that Episcopal seemed to be the favorite denomination in California, and he had no doubt that if the Church were well-managed, it would grow rapidly—but smart leaders he deemed necessary. Cast-off preachers, he wrote, could not succeed at all, and there was no use sending them; as in everything else, California needed the best.⁷⁶ The inference of this letter did not particularly favor the priestly incumbent of Grace Church.

Mr. Mines was called upon to enter the life of the city as well as to establish his church. In June, 1851, the Committee of Vigilance, a public tribunal formed to restore law and order in the wide-open

⁷⁰"Hotchkiss Letters," CHSQ, XII, 95.

⁷¹No reason for this trip has yet been found.

⁷²Huddart arrived in California early, for his commission from the Board of Missions was, as noted before, dated January 1, 1851. That he supplied for Mines during the rector's absence is confirmed by the *Daily Alta*, January 20, 1867.

⁷³"Hotchkiss Letters," CHSQ, XII, 99.

⁷⁴Edward B. Pusey (1800-1882) led the return to Catholic practice in the Anglican Church. In 1850, in the United States, this return was regarded with suspicion and anger by many of both the clergy and laity, as a direct road to Rome. Mehr, and later Ferdinand Ewer, were High Churchmen. Bishop Kip also had tendencies toward more Catholic practice.

⁷⁵"Hotchkiss Letters," CHSQ, XII, 99.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 100.

city of San Francisco, was at work, and Mines was called upon by it to perform a task or two. A man named John Jenkins entered the office of Mr. George W. Virgin, seized a small safe, and dropped it into a boat at the end of a nearby pier. Unfortunately for Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Virgin arrived in time to see the nefarious act and set up a cry. Jenkins, flustered, and seeing that he was to be captured, dropped the safe overboard and surrendered. He was taken before the Committee of Vigilance rather than to the police. The committee hastily met in Sam Brannan's building and decreed an immediate trial. A jury was selected, a prosecuting attorney appointed, and the particulars of the theft rehearsed by the witnesses. The evidence presented was conclusive and the verdict was guilty.⁷⁷

The trial brought out that Jenkins was an ex-convict from Australia who had at one time run a vicious boarding house, that he was regarded with aversion even by those with whom he consorted, and that he was rumored to have been connected with the untimely death of one Connally, with whose wife Jenkins was assumed to have been intimate. This reputation, added to grand larceny, did nothing to aid Mr. Jenkins during the examinations; grand larceny alone brought the death penalty in San Francisco in 1851. In addition, Jenkins did not endear himself to his captors. For he cursed them roundly, and boasted that he would soon be rescued. The Committee of Vigilance, not wishing to hasten its task as executioner [having already acted as trial jury and sentencing judge], vacillated until one member, Mr. William H. Howard, strode forward and said, "Gentlemen, as I understand it, we came here to hang a man."⁷⁸

The committee was thus prompted to action, and a clergyman was immediately summoned to confer with the doomed man. The priest called was the Rev. Mr. Mines.⁷⁹ He was closeted with the prisoner for so long a time that finally one of the members of the committee burst in upon them to shout, "Mr. Mines, you have taken about three-quarters of an hour, and I want you to bring this prayer business to a rapid close. I am going to hang this man in half an hour." Mr. Mines

⁷⁷Mary Floyd Williams, *History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851* (Berkeley, 1921), 208-209. Hereafter cited as Williams, *Committee of Vigilance*. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals*, 2v. (San Francisco, 1887), I, 232.

⁷⁸Williams, *Committee of Vigilance*, 210.

⁷⁹Apparently Jenkins was asked if he wanted a clergyman; he finally said yes, but if he must have one to let it be an Episcopalian. Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals*, I, 232.

reluctantly withdrew, having to admit that the prisoner was incorrigible.⁸⁰

Mines was also called into the case of James Stuart, outlaw. Stuart was accused of not one, but a number of murders. He was arrested, tried and sentenced to death by the Committee of Vigilance. When Mines was called in, he was ignorant of the fact that a charge of murder had been made against Stuart.⁸¹ However, he found the outlaw more penitent than Jenkins, for Stuart had been a member of the Church of England as a youth and so responded to the confessor.⁸²

Mines wrote a letter to the committee concerning the case, and the Vigilantes asked to publish it. The letter was dated July 18, 1851; the next week, Mines wrote a note saying that he had looked it over and found nothing he wished to change, and that it might be published if the committee wished. On July 21, the letter appeared in the *San Francisco Herald*. Mines mentioned the villainy and blasphemy of Jenkins, whom he had lately tried to aid, and the vindictiveness of his dying hour. Stuart had also received the priest rudely,⁸³ and when Mines first proposed a service said, "It is not worthwhile. I have not thought of God for fifteen years and I cannot expect that he would think of me in the few minutes that are left to me now." He added, "If there are everlasting burnings, I expect to go to them, for I have led the life that must take me to them." Mines told him that the fires were in his own breast, and that he could extinguish or subdue them by repentance; he might be saved. Stuart said he felt it was too late, so great a work could not be done in so short a time. The outlaw confessed that he hardly knew if the religion of his youth were still true. Mines assured him that it was, and tried to reason with him. Stuart was at first surly, but at the second interview promised that he would try to avoid having feelings in which it was unsafe to die; at the third meeting, he acknowledged to Mines the justice of his fate, said he would die without resentment, and knew he was receiving a just reward for his misdeeds. He declined Mines' offer to accompany him to his execution, but he died penitent and received the absolution of the Church.⁸⁴

⁸⁰Williams, *Committee of Vigilance*, 211.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, 264; also, note 37, same page.

⁸²*Ibid.*, 270.

⁸³Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals*, I, 295, says Stuart received the clergyman with great respect, and, though at first sullen, finally yielded to the influence of the hour.

⁸⁴Mary Floyd Williams, ed., *Papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851*, volume IV of the *Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History* (Berkeley, 1919), 308-310. Hereafter cited as Williams, *Papers of the Vigilance Committee*.

Mines regretted that he did not know of the murder charge against Stuart, for, if he had, he might have got more information. But the execution was over, and the priest told the committee that he felt that it was strongly humane in using religion in cases like Stuart's; he expressed hope that wisdom and moderation would guide the group. He also told the committee that he looked forward to the day when the safety of citizens and the tranquility of the city would make their terrible organization unnecessary,

a result not to be looked for we fear, until an outraged community, merging the trivial distinctions of political party, shall rise at the next polls and drive out profane and profligate, obscene and drunken ministers of law from their places, and raise men to power who have families and interests in the country, and at least shall be above suspicion and collusion with friends and felons. . . . how fair and beautiful might have been our . . . city . . . if a purer ermine had vested our judiciary and the officers and counsellors and makers of the law had all been decent men and above the influence of gold.⁸⁵

Mines felt strongly to the day of his death that California was a wicked and immoral state. In a sermon preached in January, 1852, he pointed out, as he had to the Vigilantes, the weakness and worldliness of the people of the community. The sermon posed the question of whether or not Californians were Christians, and what the people of California had done to religion. The answers were all negative. Mines felt that rather than having preserved the faith, California had sold its birth-right for a mess of pottage; instead of winning believers, men had ceased believing, and instead of bringing light, the pioneers had cast a cloud over the land. He excoriated those who, instead of blessing the land with virtues, had darkened it with crime, and had failed to ennoble it with charities. He cried aloud against a city which built gambling houses rather than churches, prisons rather than schools, grog shops instead of lyceums, and scaffolds instead of churches. He feared for those who muttered oaths and curses instead of praying, and who carried bottles and rifles instead of Bibles. And he uttered a harsh truth when he said, "We have pulled Chinese, Indian and Kanaha [sic] from a higher rung on the ladder to heaven to a lower . . ." He felt that even Christian women had failed in their duty. When he asked what had occurred to make man infidel, there was only one answer—gold!⁸⁶ This

⁸⁵Williams, *Papers of the Vigilance Committee*, 311.

⁸⁶Flavel S. Mines, *Sermon Preached by the Rev. Flavel S. Mines on Sunday, January 25, 1852, at the opening of the New Trinity Church in Pine Street, San Francisco, Cal.* (San Francisco, 1852), 5-6.

portion of the sermon was about as concise a picture of San Francisco of that era as could be found.

In 1850, having established his church, Flavel Mines returned to the eastern United States for a visit. The reason for this trip is undetermined. However, he returned to California early in 1851 on the same ship which carried John White Geary ⁸⁷ and his brother, the Rev. Edward Geary, a Presbyterian minister. They sailed from New York on the Empire City, February 13, 1851.⁸⁸ The Rev. Orange Clark, an Episcopal priest, was also aboard with his family.⁸⁹

At Panama, while crossing the Isthmus, a misunderstanding arose with the natives about where the Americans were to spend the night. It was finally straightened out and the second night was spent at Palanquena, a rancho. The Rev. Mr. Mines, his wife, her mother, a Mrs. Judah, and the two Mines children slept on some goatskins in the loft of a native house; to reach the loft, they were forced to ascend an upright notched pole, something like those used in hen houses in the West.⁹⁰ Evidently Mines could take it, for Edward Geary wrote to a friend ". . . Mr. Mines, who, notwithstanding his high church exclusiveness, is an excellent man, and highly esteemed."⁹¹

Upon returning to California, Mines continued to do his full share of work. The congregation at Holy Trinity had grown enough to warrant a larger building. A new location was purchased, and an iron building was erected on Pine Street between Montgomery and Kearney. The corporate name of the parish was changed at this time, late 1851, to "Trinity Church and Parish."⁹²

⁸⁷Alcalde of San Francisco, President of the City Council, etc.

⁸⁸Clifford M. Drury, "John White Geary and his brother Edward," in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XX (March, 1941), 15.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, XX, 16. Mr. Clark was at this time a chaplain in the United States Army. Later he was instrumental in promoting the growth of the Church in California, and was for a time rector of St. John's Church, Fremont, Santa Clara County (if there was such a church, a point that has been questioned). See *Ibid.*, XX, 24, note 3.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, XX, 18.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, XX, 22.

⁹²*One Hundred Years a Parish*, 8-9. Bancroft, *California*, VII, 728. *Daily Alta*, January 20, 1867. *Morning Call*, June 25, 1893. Parsons, "Church Rush," HMPEC, XIX, 86-87. "In March 1853 the iron building on Pine Street was enlarged by moving out the side walls, each eight feet, and by opening an arch in the north gable and adding a chancel instead of the projecting platform. By this change, the capacity of the auditorium was doubled." See *Daily Alta*, January 20, 1867. The last public Sunday service in this church was held on December 30, 1866. The Pine Street lot was sold for \$70,500, and a lot was bought on the corner of Post and Powell for \$30,000. The Post Street lot had a frontage of 137½ feet on Powell Street and 161½ on Post. The cornerstone for a new building was laid by Bishop Kip on December 11, 1866. The new structure was

The new church was opened on Easter Sunday, 1852, amid great joy.⁹³ Mines delivered a sermon which had a touch of prophecy in it. Among other things, he said:

Little had we dreamed that San Francisco should, through the infidelity of a few disheartened Christians, become to Eastern Asia what Antioch became to Asia in the West, the mother and model of an unnumerable multitude of churches. *It is the door to the nations* [italics mine] and will send forth the apostles of liberty and truth in the spirit and order of St. Thomas throughout the continent.⁹⁴

Mines found that his work became increasingly difficult as the dread tuberculosis ate more and more into his system. He became weaker and had to rely more often upon others to take his services. But by this time there were at least four other priests in the community who could aid him: the Rev. Messrs. Orange Clark, R. T. Huddart, Samuel Moorehouse, and, by October, 1852, J. D. Moore.

The illness of Mines and the state of the Church in California (the latter hearsay evidence) were brought to the attention of the editors of the *Spirit of Missions* in a letter dated July 19, 1852, Albany, New York. The correspondent's attempt to focus the editor's attention on the Church's pressing need in California was evident. Apparently, the author of the letter had been receiving, during the years 1850-1852, information from California concerning the progress of Church affairs and of the successful labors of Mines. Mines' poor health was pointed out, and it was stated that his labors were probably over. The letter indicated that Trinity Church was handsome, well-furnished and free of debt, and offered good music, but that there was no regular service, for there was no clergyman to officiate except for the occasional voluntary ministering of Mr. Orange Clark, who had been appointed chaplain to the United States Marine Hospital.⁹⁵ The writer also lamented the

capable of seating 1100 people normally, plus 300 more when certain panels were moved. Trinity was moved once again in 1892-93 to Bush and Gough Streets. Further history of Trinity Church is included in an article in the *Morning Call*, June 29, 1893.

⁹³One Hundred Years a Parish, 8. Bancroft, *California*, VII, 728. *Daily Alta*, January 20, 1867. The *Morning Call*, June 25, 1893, erroneously gives the opening date as January 25, 1852.

⁹⁴*Morning Call*, June 25, 1893.

⁹⁵The men named above often helped Mines out. Dr. VerMehr not only helped at services but supplied as often as he could when Mines was ill. Parsons, "Church Rush," HMPEC, XIX, 87.

disgraceful lack of missionary spirit in California, and wanted to know why no one had been sent to aid Mr. Mines when the state of his health was so well known.⁹⁶ It is apparent that arm-chair philosophizing attacks theologians as well as militarists.

Shortly before Mines' death August 5, 1852, the Rev. J. D. Moore wrote a letter to a friend about the ailing priest and about the Church situation in California,⁹⁷ an extract of which appeared in the *Spirit of Missions*. Mines was still alive when Moore wrote, but was daily growing weaker. Moore, who had been officiating at Holy Trinity, had been thinking of going to Stockton, Sacramento or Marysville; however, he had put off his visits for awhile because of the intense heat, "125°" in the shade. He mentioned the zealous activity of Sacramento, whose citizens had raised five thousand dollars for immediate erection of a church building, and he said that Stockton by then had a lay reader who officiated every Sunday. Moore stated in his letter that both Sacramento and Stockton were willing and able to support a priest, and would pay two hundred dollars a month salary. San Francisco could support another clergyman, and Marysville and other places could pay a salary of a hundred dollars a month each. Moore pointed out that if anyone were willing to accept the positions, he could be sure of competent support, though, as prices were high, the salary would not prove too great. Still, it was more than a young priest would get at home.⁹⁸

On August 5, 1852, Mines died,⁹⁹ after nearly four years of struggle and ill-health. He was the only Episcopal clergyman, up to 1855, to have died in San Francisco.¹⁰⁰ He had worked hard, and was looked upon as an eloquent preacher of fine quality, and a serious thinking individual. He had spent most of his lifetime thoroughly convinced that the Episcopal Church alone was right, and that it, unlike other denominations, had kept its continuity.¹⁰¹ In his will, he left \$500 for the founding of an institution to be known as Trinity Asylum; by 1893, the sum had grown to \$8000.¹⁰²

⁹⁶E. H. P., "Letter," in *Spirit of Missions*, XVII (October, 1852), 331.

⁹⁷Mr. Moore was mentioned in the November, 1852, issue of the *Spirit of Missions* as about to proceed to California as assistant to Dr. VerMehr. Evidently he was already in California when the article appeared.

⁹⁸"Extract from a Letter of Rev. J. D. Moore," in *Spirit of Missions*, XVII (October, 1852), 330-331. In view of the financial struggles of California missionaries, Moore's ideas concerning salaries seem somewhat over enthusiastic.

⁹⁹*One Hundred Years a Parish*, 8. Bancroft, *California*, VII, 728. *Morning Call*, June 25, 1893. *Daily Alta*, January 20, 1867.

¹⁰⁰Soule, *Annals of San Francisco*, 694.

¹⁰¹Parsons, "Church Rush," HMPEC, XIX, 86.

¹⁰²*Morning Call*, June 25, 1893.

One interesting note remains. Mines was buried under the chancel of Trinity Church, on Pine Street, and, when in 1867 the church was moved to the corner of Post and Powell Streets, his remains were removed to the new location.¹⁰³ In 1892-93, Trinity Church was moved once again, this time to Bush and Gough Streets. Mines' body was moved once more to be buried in his church. When workmen went to the old church to find the remains of its first priest, they had to go, of course, beneath the chancel floor to find the vault which was about thirty feet below. There was an opening under the floor just large enough for a man's body to slip through. On the wall of a small antechamber was a brass tablet and crucifix, with Mines' name, birth and death recorded on it, together with the words, "Them also that sleep in Jesus will God bring with him." The tablet was unscrewed from the masonry and removed. A large hole was made in the wall, and the old-time lead and redwood coffin in which Mines had been hermetically sealed was revealed. The coffin, six feet eight inches long, was slightly covered with fungus, but otherwise in good shape. A small plate on the cover gave the priest's name and age. The coffin was later encased in a zinc covering and placed in the new church¹⁰⁴ in a vault, which was closed with the old foundation stone. The memorial tablet was also transferred to the new building.¹⁰⁵ So Flavel Mines remained with his church in death as in life.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³*Idem.* Edgar Lion, "Early Days of the Protestant Episcopal Church in California," in *Overland Monthly*, VI (August, 1885), 203-204.

¹⁰⁴*Morning Call*, June 29, 1893.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, June 25, 1893.

¹⁰⁶Mines was succeeded by the Rev. C. B. Wyatt, then in charge of the Church of the Holy Apostles in New York. Wyatt, who came to California in 1853, remained until 1856, when he returned to New York. He was succeeded by S. Chipman Thrall, who remained in charge of Trinity until 1861, when Wyatt returned. *Daily Alta*, January 20, 1867. Bancroft, *California*, VII, 728.

Anglican-Congregationalist Tensions in Pre-Revolutionary Connecticut

By Glenn Weaver*

OLERATION of dissent was hardly to have been expected in seventeenth-century Connecticut. Toleration was not a tenet of Puritan Congregationalism. The belief of every schoolboy that the seventeenth-century migrants to the New World crossed the sea to give substance to the idea that every man should be free to worship God in his own fashion is, of course, nothing more than pious fiction. The truth of the matter is that New England's first settlers, whether at Plymouth, Salem, or New Haven, intended to establish a new English Zion, in which all should submit to the rule of God's elect. Thus, a sea voyage of but three thousand miles had changed the status of a persecuted minority in England to a ruling oligarchy in the Puritan colonies.

In this new Zion, Papists were anathema. Quakers were little better thought of, as, with their idea of separation of church and state and with their insistence upon the direct divine guidance of the individual, they presented a threat to the very existence of the Congregational churches. There was much persecution of such people, but it may be pointed out, almost by way of charity, that the persecution of Quakers was defensive rather than aggressive. Although the Puritan leaders had every intention of ruling all those who came within the territorial limits of the "New English Canaan," those not in sympathy with the policy of the rulers were to have, as Nathaniel Ward of Massachusetts put it, "free liberty to keep away from us."¹ With the rules of the game thus defined regarding "Familists, Antinomians, Anabaptists and other enthusiasts"—groups specifically mentioned by Ward—Protestants of the extreme theological "left" entered the Puritan colonies at their own peril. As a first offender, a Quaker preaching in the Puritan colonies was usually allowed to depart in peace. It was only upon

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¹Quoted in Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The Puritan Oligarchy* (New York, 1947), p. 212.

his refusal to leave the colony upon warning, or upon his return to the colony after ejection, that a serious penalty was imposed. In New Haven, for example, the second-time offender was to be branded on his face with the letter H (for "heretic"), and confined to prison, where he would be kept at hard labor until he could be sent from the colony at his own charge. Fourth-time offenders were to have their tongues bored through with a hot iron.² Connecticut had a somewhat more liberal law than had her neighbor colony. There, repeated offenses were to be punished by banishment, fines, or such corporal punishment as the magistrates should agree upon.³

So much for what might well be described as the "lunatic fringe" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. What about the Anglican who in England was a part of the established majority, but who in Connecticut found himself—oddly enough—a dissenter in his relation to the Congregational Establishment? It must, of course, be remembered that it was Puritan dissatisfaction with the existing state of the Church of England that brought each of the New England colonies into being.⁴

Whether because of the efforts of the Puritans of the colony or not, Anglicanism was comparatively late in making its appearance in Connecticut.⁵ In October, 1664, seven Connecticut freemen—William Pitkin, Michael Humphrey, John Stedman, James Enno, Robert Reeve, John Moses, and Jonas Westover—styling themselves "Professors of the Protestant Christian Religion, Members of the Church of England, and subjects to our sovereign lord Charles the Second . . ."—in an "humble address and petition" to the General Assembly, lamented their want of those "Ordinances" which ought to be administered them "as members of Christ's visable Church." The memorialists asked that the Connecticut Assembly put them "in a full and free capacity of enjoying those . . . advantages, which to us . . . do of right belong," and thereby right the wrong of having themselves live "as sheep scattered

²*New Haven Colonial Records, 1655-1666*, p. 239.

³*Colonial Records of Connecticut*, I, 303-324.

⁴Brief accounts of English Puritanism, with particular reference to the exodus to America, may be found in T. J. Wertenbaker, *The Puritan Oligarchy*, pp. 1-77; William Warren Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America* (New York, 1943), pp. 15-27, 73ff. (This book is biased against the Anglican point of view, and is highly inaccurate in many of its details. Nevertheless, it will serve as an adequate introduction to the subject.)

⁵It will be noted that I am here using "Connecticut" to mean the present territorial extent of the state. The New Haven Colony and Connecticut were not united until 1665.

having no shepherd," and yet at the same time being obliged to contribute to the maintenance of the Congregational clergy.⁶

Surprisingly enough, the plea was not unfavorably received by the Assembly. After a consideration of the petition, the Assembly adopted a plan for the "comprehension" of the small group of Anglican families, whereby the Congregational ministers of the colony were asked

"to consider whether it be not their duty to entertaine all such persons whoe are of an honest and godly conversation, having a competency of knowledg in the principles of religion, and shall desire to joyne with them in church fellowship, by an explicitt covenant, and that they have their children baptiz'd, and that the children of the Church be accepted acc'td real members of the church, and . . . such persons be admitted to full communion."⁷

Although "comprehension" was probably not all that the Anglican memorialists could have desired, the plan must have been acceptable both to them and to the Congregational clergy, for the names of the signers of the petition did not appear in subsequent records as critics of the "Standing Order." There are, parenthetically, two observations to be made regarding the incident: (1) that, assuming that the arrangement suggested by the Assembly was put into effect, the seven Anglican petitioners either had no hope of ever securing a clergyman of their own communion, or they had no question about the validity of the "Ordinances" of the Congregational Churches, and (2) that in the plan for "comprehension" the lawmakers of Connecticut were decades in advance—if "comprehension" truly represents advance—of the English Parliament. Lest it be assumed that the "comprehension" plan represented any great change in heart on the part of the Congregationalists of Connecticut, it may be well to point out that in that same year (1664) royal commissioners to Massachusetts had warned the authorities of that colony in no uncertain terms that suppression of worship according to the Prayer Book would be highly displeasing to the king.⁸ Thus, in all probability, Connecticut exercised restraint in her dealings at that time with the Anglicans in her midst as a neces-

⁶William Stevens Perry, *The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587-1883* (2 vols., Boston, 1885), I, 283, quoting C. J. Hoadly, Comp. "Connecticut State Papers, Ecclesiastical," vol. I, Doc. 106 in *American Church Review*, X, pp. 106-107.

⁷W. S. Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, I, 283-284, quoting *Connecticut Colonial Records*, I, 437-438.

⁸T. J. Wertenbaker, *The Puritan Oligarchy*, p. 245.

sary means of maintaining royal favor when the colony had so recently received her royal charter.

This expression of generosity was well-timed, for the following year royal commissioners of King Charles II reported, following a visit to Connecticut, that "the colony will not hinder any from enjoying the sacraments, and using the Common Prayer-Book, provided they [the Anglicans] hinder not the maintenance of the public [Congregational] ministers."⁹

Certainly "comprehension" did not satisfy all Anglicans who subsequently made their way to Connecticut. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, there began a considerable migration from the colony of New York into western Connecticut. Many of these newcomers were Churchmen.^{9-a} By 1690, there was a number of Church of England people living in Stratford who were "desirous to worship God in the way of their forefathers."¹⁰

This time the Assembly gave no encouragement, for it was more than apparent to the Congregationalist rulers that, in both numbers and standing in the communities of western Connecticut, the Anglicans were in the process of becoming a force with which the colonial government would soon have to reckon. Before the revocation of Massachusetts' charter, complaints had reached the king's ear that the traditional liberties of Englishmen had been denied certain of his subjects in the Massachusetts Bay colony, and some of the specific complaints involved suspension of Prayer Book worship.¹¹ Sooner or later such protests would be heard from Connecticut.

Theologically, Connecticut Congregationalists faced a serious problem which they were unable satisfactorily to resolve. What about those baptized persons who were not "of scandalous life," and yet, having had no "experience" of religion, had not been admitted to the Lord's Supper? Could their children be presented for baptism? Massachusetts in 1657 had adopted the "Half-Way Covenant" which had

⁹Charles C. Tiffany, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America* (New York, 1895), pp. 122-123.

^{9-a}The term "Churchman" is here used in its original, historical sense, that is, a member of the Anglican Church.

¹⁰E. B. Huntington, *History of Stamford, Connecticut* (Stamford, 1868), pp. 190-191; W. S. Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, I, 284; Lucy Cushing Jarvis, ed., *Sketches of Church Life in Colonial Connecticut* (New Haven, 1902), p. 24; *Connecticut Colonial Records*, I, 420; Maud O'Neil, "A Struggle for Religious Liberty: An Analysis of the Work of the S.P.G. in Connecticut," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XX (June, 1951), 178; Oscar Zeichner, *Connecticut's Years of Controversy, 1750-1776* (Williamsburg, Va., [1949]), pp. 9-13.

¹¹T. J. Wertenbaker, *The Puritan Oligarchy*, pp. 295, 299-300, 304-306.

made such procedure possible. Connecticut, however, refused to follow the example.¹² Thus, those without any personal experience of salvation, although in sympathy with the Christian ethic, would be likely objects of Anglican missionary efforts, if and when the Church of England should gain even the slightest foothold in the colony.

These fears were painfully confirmed when the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was incorporated by royal charter in June of 1701. The Venerable Society—as the S.P.G. has been called almost from the time of its founding—was the instrument whereby the Anglican Church was brought into Connecticut. On September 10, 1702, George Keith (the Society's first missionary to the colony) and John Talbot, his traveling companion, arrived in New London where they were, according to Keith's diary, courteously received by the folk of the community. At this time, there were few, if any, Anglicans in New London, but the following Sunday (September 13) the Congregational minister, the Rev. Gurdon Saltonstall, invited the two missionaries to preach from the pulpit, Talbot in the morning and Keith in the afternoon. Although there is no reason to believe that any part of the Prayer Book was used in either service, it was a most historic occasion, as this was the first time that a clergyman of the Church of England had officiated in any capacity, in the colony. Perhaps somewhat to the surprise of the missionaries, Saltonstall expressed his "good affections to the Church of England."¹³

From New London, Keith and Talbot proceeded southward on their missionary tour. Instead of going by land, a route which would have taken them through Stratford, the town in which they would have found most ready hearers, they crossed Long Island Sound to Oyster Bay, Long Island.¹⁴ For some unknown reason, they failed to visit Stratford, although they must have known of the presence of Anglicans there. In the Report of the S.P.G. for 1701, it was noted that there were about one hundred and fifty people in Connecticut who adhered to the English Church, and that about thirty-five regarded themselves as communicants.¹⁵ Western Connecticut was the scene of this Anglican infiltration, and of this fact Kent and Talbot must have been aware.

¹²William Wilson Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York and Milwaukee, 1935), p. 101.

¹³"Journal of George Kent" entries of September 10 and September 13. The "Journal" is reprinted in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XX (December, 1951), 373-436.

¹⁴W. S. Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, I, 214-215.

¹⁵W. W. Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America*, p. 54.

Either shortly after or shortly before the visit of Keith and Talbot to New England, the Anglicans of Stratford petitioned the Bishop of London to send them a missionary. Nothing came of this request, and in 1705 they asked the Rev. George Muirson, rector of the Anglican Church at Rye, New York, to visit Stratford to preach and baptize. Muirson was eager to cooperate with the Stratford people. On the Fifteenth Sunday after Trinity, September 1, 1706, Muirson went to Stratford, accompanied by Colonel Caleb Heathcote, a zealous layman of Pelham Manor, New York. Heathcote anticipated trouble and went to Stratford well-armed. Muirson asked the town authorities for permission to use the meetinghouse at such time of the day as it was not in use by the Congregationalists. The request was met with not only a flat refusal, but also with threats of imprisonment and "hard usage." Nevertheless, a service was held in a private home, and twenty-four persons, mostly adults, were baptized. Evidently some Congregationalists attended, for Muirson wrote later regarding the occasion :

"The people were wonderfully surprised at the order of our Church, expecting to have heard and seen some wonderful strange things, by the account and representation of it that their teachers had given them."¹⁶

Muirson's second visit—and again he was accompanied by Colonel Heathcote—met with even more opposition than the first. This time, the town fathers not only threatened Muirson with imprisonment, but they also held out the same threat to his hearers. One of the Stratford justices appeared at Muirson's lodging and read a formal protest against his intrusion, which declared his holding service to be a violation of the law of the colony. On the day of the service, certain of the town authorities stood in the highway and threatened those who should attend the service with a fine of £5, as the law directed.¹⁷

On this second visit, the Holy Communion was celebrated and four or five persons were baptized. Colonel Heathcote later recounted that the Rev. Mr. Reed, the Congregational minister, became "favorably inclined toward the Church," and was only "hindered from going to England for orders by circumstances over which he had no control." Whether or not Mr. Muirson's second visit to Stratford had any bearing on the case, Reed soon evidenced inclinations toward the Church of England, and was, as a result, dismissed from his parish.¹⁸

¹⁶W. S. Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, I, 284-285.

¹⁷W. W. Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America*, p. 54.

¹⁸W. S. Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, I, 285.

In April, 1707, Muirson visited Stratford for a third time, and succeeded in organizing Christ Church, when vestrymen and wardens were chosen. To make sure that the organization of the parish had been properly carried out, and also to survey the prospects of success for the English Church in the colony, Muirson invited the Rev. Evan Evans, of Philadelphia, who was about to embark for England, to accompany him (Muirson) on his fourth missionary venture into Connecticut. On this journey, Muirson and Evans went to Fairfield upon the invitation of the Fairfield Anglican families. There the reception was much as it had been in Stratford. Use of the meetinghouse was, of course, refused, and the town officials forbade any public announcement of the service. Nevertheless, a "large congregation" assembled in a private home, and, had not Mr. Muirson died in October of 1708, a parish might have been organized there.¹⁹

Muirson's death also threatened the survival of Christ Church, Stratford. Occasional visits, however, from clergymen from New York kept the church alive until 1712, when the Rev. Francis Phillips, missionary of the Venerable Society, took charge. Phillips found Stratford somewhat to his disliking, and, after a stay of less than a year, he resigned. After an interval of ten years, the S.P.G. again sent a missionary, this time, the Rev. George Pigot, one who was to play a leading role in the permanent establishment of Anglicanism in Connecticut.²⁰

During these early years at Stratford, the position of the Anglicans was far from enviable. On December 12, 1709, one of the wardens and one of the vestrymen were sent to the common goal, where they were kept for three days without light or heat. Several days later, another vestryman was sent to prison, and was roughly handled by the constables while on the way to the gaol. By the middle of January, 1710, it would seem that all of the vestrymen had spent at least a few days in prison. Several members of the parish had their estates attached in default of payment of fines imposed upon them. A protest to the General Assembly through an attorney brought no relief.²¹

Now the remarkable thing about this persecution was that it was carried on under the terms of an "Act of Toleration," which had been passed by the Connecticut Assembly in May, 1708. This act, in many respects similar to that passed by the English Parliament in 1689, granted

¹⁹W. S. Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, I, 285.

²⁰L. C. Jarvis, *Sketches of Church Life in Colonial Connecticut*, pp. 32-33.

²¹W. S. Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, I, 284-285.

to the Anglicans in Connecticut just about the same immunities granted to the Congregationalists and other dissenters in England. Although after 1708 it was possible, under the law, to attend worship in Connecticut other than that of the Congregational Establishment, all residents of the colony were still obliged to contribute toward the financial support of the meetinghouse and minister.²² Thus the fines and imprisonment were the result of the Anglican's refusal to comply with the law of 1708. The beatings, however, can be attributed to nothing but sectarian malice.

Francis Phillips, in his report to the S.P.G. at the close of his unhappy ministry at Stratford, charged that the only adherents of the Anglican Church in Connecticut were those who wanted to escape payment of taxes to support the Congregational clergy.²³ The charge was most certainly false. Every Anglican knew when he went to gaol that his fine would be paid before his release could be secured. Furthermore, it was only at Stratford that Anglicans—either real or (as Phillips would have said) "supposed"—were then to be found. If claim of adherence to the Church of England had been such a convenient way of escaping the Congregational assessments, surely similar professions would have been made in other parts of the colony.

There can be no doubt that the Anglican dissent from the Congregational Establishment at Stratford was genuine. The Congregationalists themselves were aware of this fact, for with the dismissal of Mr. Reed from his parish after Muirson's visit to Stratford, the Congregationalists took strong measures to meet the situation. The Rev. Timothy Cutler, one of the most able of the Congregational clergy, was settled there. Although it was hoped that Cutler's preaching would rout the Anglicans, or at least put them to shame, Cutler himself, although it was certainly not known in Stratford, was having serious doubts about the validity of his ordination and was becoming strongly inclined toward episcopacy.²⁴ In 1719, Cutler became rector of Yale College. It has been suggested that he accepted this position to avail himself of the collection of books which had been given to the college in 1716 by Jeremy Dummer and Sir John Davie. Whatever may have been the case, it was Cutler's reading the works of Anglican divines (perhaps neither Dummer nor Davie had seen a catalog of the volumes, for neither would have given the slightest thought to encouraging the

²²W. W. Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America*, p. 114.

²³W. W. Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church*, p. 102.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 102.

reading of Anglican theology in Connecticut) which confirmed his feelings toward the Church of England.²⁵

Cutler was not the only Connecticut Congregationalist who was reading the books and undergoing a change of heart. Samuel Johnson, former tutor in Yale College and then pastor at West Haven, had received a Prayer Book as a gift from a Guilford Churchman named Smithson. The study of this volume, as well as the writings of various Anglican authors, heightened Johnson's distaste for extemporeaneous prayer, and also gave him grave doubts regarding the validity of Congregational ordination.²⁶ Others who used the Yale library, and who soon came to share the views of Cutler and Johnson, were John Hart, Samuel Whittlesey, Jared Eliot, and James Wetmore, Congregational pastors at East Guilford, Walingford, Kenelsworth, and North Haven, respectively, and Daniel Brown (Browne), tutor at Yale. In the summer of 1722, these seven approached the new Anglican missionary at Stratford, the Rev. George Pigot, informing him of their determination to declare for the Church of England. Pigot, realizing the significance of the situation, gave them every encouragement and assured them that they would receive the full support from the Bishop of London.²⁷

On September 12, 1722, Rector Cutler presided at the Yale Commencement. No sooner had he dismissed the gathering with the words, "And let all the people say Amen," than the trustees of the college, suspecting that something momentous was about to happen, met in secret session. It would seem that the trustees had become aware of the meeting of the seven friends in the library for reading and discussion, for on the following day all seven were summoned to appear in the library room to state clearly what change in spirit had come upon them. The scene in the library was a stormy one. When Cutler stated his position, he was asked by the aghast trustees to reconsider. Cutler refused to submit, and the trustees then arranged for a public debate, which was to be moderated by Governor Saltonstall, who twenty years before, as pastor at New London, had so warmly received Keith and Talbot and had at that time professed "good affections to the Church of England." When the chips were down, Hart, Eliot, and Whittlesey

²⁵The most colorful brief account of Cutler's Yale experience is in Ola Elizabeth Winslow, *Jonathan Edwards* (New York, 1941), pp. 81-84. See also Edgar Legare Pennington, *Church of England Beginnings in Connecticut and Black Monday at Yale* (Hartford, 1938), pp. 11ff. An account of the gathering of the Davie and Dummer collections, and a partial catalog, is in Louis Shores, *Origins of the American College Library, 1638-1800* (New York, [1935]), pp. 23, 52, 75-80, 127-135, 218-223.

²⁶W. S. Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, I, 288.

²⁷W. W. Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church*, pp. 102-103.

recanted; Wetmore was temporarily shaken in his views; but Cutler, Johnson, and Brown held firm. The public debate was, of course, a farce, for although the defendants furnished better argument than the trustees, the verdict was one of dismissal from any further service in the college.²⁸ What had begun as a public debate ended as an ecclesiastical court.

Although Congregationalism had won the battle, the victory was a hollow one. A later Congregationalist writer said, "This event shook Congregationalism throughout New England like an earthquake, and filled its friends with terror and apprehension."²⁹

Shortly afterwards, Cutler, Johnson, and Brown went to England, where in March, 1723, they were ordained both deacons and priests in St. Martin's Church, London, by the Bishop of Norwich. A few weeks later, Wetmore was also ordained. Of the four, Brown died in London shortly after his ordination. Wetmore went to New York, Cutler went to Boston, and Johnson returned to Connecticut, where he replaced Pigot, who had, meanwhile, resigned his post at Stratford after less than a year's service.³⁰

After the "Yale defection," the Connecticut Anglicans took heart, and, rather generously supported by the S.P.G., organized a number of new parishes in rapid succession. In 1723, ten or fifteen families founded Christ Church, West Haven. This mission was begun by Johnson, and it may be believed that the parish was formed from the membership of Johnson's former congregation.³¹ In 1724, a church was organized by Johnson at Fairfield. In 1725, Trinity Church, Southfield, was organized. Then followed churches at New London (1725), Newtown (1732), Poquetanuck (1734), Redding (1734), Hebron (1735), Norwalk (1737), Derby (1737), Ridgefield (1739), Plymouth (1740), Roxbury (1740), Woodbury (1740), Simsbury (1740), Wallingford (1741), Stamford (1742), Waterbury (1742), New Milford (1742), Guilford (1744), Weston (1744), Litchfield (1745), Norwich (1747?), North Guilford (1747), Bridgeport (1748), Huntington (1749), Greenwich (1749), Middletown (1749), New Haven (1752), Branford (1752), Sharon (1754), North Haven (1759), Cheshire (1760), Tashua (1760), Danbury (1762), Hartford (1762), Easton (1763), Northford (1763), Oxford (1764), Watertown (1764), Milford (1764), and Brooklyn (1770).³²

²⁸O. E. Winslow, *Jonathan Edwards*, pp. 83-84.

²⁹Quoted in C. C. Tiffany, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, p. 128, from Josiah Quincy, *History of Harvard University*.

³⁰C. C. Tiffany, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, p. 132.

³¹L. C. Jarvis, *Sketches of Church Life in Colonial Connecticut*, p. 26.

³²*Ibid.*, pp. 183-184.

Thus, before the outbreak of the American Revolution, more than fourscore Anglican Churches had been organized in a colony where, for the first eighty years, the Congregationalists had reigned supreme. But the mere listing of parishes with dates of organization—impressive though it may be—tells nothing of the difficulties which the founders of the Church in Connecticut encountered, nor of the struggle in which they were engaged for mere survival. Everywhere the Congregationalists tried to hinder the work. Almost without exception, the first services were held in private homes, and it was not until a few years later that church buildings could be built.³³ In only one community, Redding, was the Anglican Church the first on the scene.³⁴

For a number of years, the tax collecting, fines, and imprisonments continued, but this persecution failed to break the spirit of the Anglicans.³⁵ Under strong pressure from Church of England people, and partly out of personal respect for Samuel Johnson, Governor Talcott decreed in 1726 that Johnson (who was, incidentally, the only Anglican clergyman then living in the colony) was to be allowed the same protection under the law as the Puritan ministers, and that his congregation was to be excused from the support of any other clergyman. This "executive order" was written into the law of the colony by the Assembly in the following year (1727), when one Moses Ward, a fairfield Churchman, petitioned the Assembly for relief from the support of the Establishment. This "Relief Law" provided that, whenever a parish of the Church of England had a resident minister who regularly performed the duties of his office, the monies collected from the members of the parish should be returned to them for the support of their minister.³⁶ In such towns as were served by Johnson, the law was more-or-less regularly observed. In other places, where the sentiment was strongly against the Church of England, the law was a dead letter, and even lawsuits begun by the Anglican parsons in their parishioners' behalf met with little success.³⁷

One factor which placed the Anglicans at a great disadvantage under the "Relief Law" was that many of the parishes were usually without the service of a clergyman. Ministries were usually of short duration, and between rectors the services were conducted by laymen.³⁸ During these intervals when no clergyman was in charge, the taxes

³³L. C. Jarvis, *Sketches of Church Life in Colonial Connecticut*, *passim*.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 53.

³⁵W. S. Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, I, 290.

³⁶W. W. Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church*, p. 105.

³⁷L. C. Jarvis, *Sketches of Church Life in Colonial Connecticut*, pp. 50-51.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 29 *et passim*.

which were collected from the Anglicans were applied to the support of the establishment. This was true even in such towns as had no particularly anti-Anglican sentiment. Another difficulty arose from the Congregationalist's interpretation of precisely what constituted "residence" of a minister of the Church of England. This is illustrated in the case of Samuel Johnson who resided in Stratford, but who also officiated, at one time or another, at Fairfield, Ridgefield, Newtown, Huntington, Ripton, Waterbury, New London, Redding, Woodbury, Guilford, Litchfield, Branford, Cheshire, and Milford.³⁹ The civil authorities insisted that only the town of the clergyman's residence could qualify under the "Relief Law," and the Anglicans insisted that each parish which was regularly visited by a clergyman was entitled to the immunity. Needless to say, the Puritan interpretation generally prevailed.

With the Anglicans being subjected to such hardships in the matter of supporting their clergy, it was natural for them to encourage endowment of parishes by gifts and bequests. The endowments were strongly encouraged by the clergy, but the proceeds from those funds were far from being adequate to the needs,⁴⁰ and the parishes were obliged to rely heavily upon the support of the S.P.G.

Still another form of persecution was the imprisonment or fining of Anglicans for working on fast days appointed by the civil authorities.⁴¹ Although the Congregationalists had only contempt for the Christian year, they were obviously familiar with the Kalendar, for it must have been more than coincidence which caused "public days of humiliation and prayer," to fall invariably on the great feast days of the Christian Church.

On the more personal side, the Puritans took great delight in whatever misfortunes befell the Anglicans. St. Peter's Church in Hebron is a notable case in point. This church sent four candidates for holy orders to England—all within a period of twelve years—before they finally secured a minister. Of the four, one died in a French prison, one was lost at sea, and one died of smallpox before leaving England. These misfortunes were attributed by the Congregationalists to Divine displeasure with the Church of England.⁴²

Despite all this opposition, the Connecticut Anglicans made serious efforts to integrate themselves into the life of the colony. Even to Yale College, which had figured so largely in the introduction of Angli-

³⁹L. C. Jarvis, *Sketches of Church Life in Colonial Connecticut*, p. 173.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 57.

canism to the colony, and where the trustees exercised every precaution lest the "defection" of 1722 be repeated, young Anglicans—even the sons of the parsonage—were being sent for their education. In 1748, there were ten candidates for degrees who were members of the Church of England; one of these was the son of Samuel Johnson, and another was Samuel Seabury, Jr., the future Bishop of Connecticut.⁴³ Apparently these students were at no particular disadvantage. In their strivings for integration, however, the Anglicans refused to compromise their principles. While recognizing the Congregational Establishment as legal in Connecticut, they regarded their own communion as *The Church of the British Empire*. Never did they seek nor desire comprehension within the Connecticut Establishment.

Perhaps the Church of England had its "finest hour" in Connecticut when John Whitefield made his appearance in the colony in 1741 at the height of the "Great Awakening." Whitefield was in Anglican orders, but his conduct in the various colonies of the British New World little reflected his ecclesiastical connection. As he passed from colony to colony, Whitefield had made his first contacts among his fellow Anglican clergymen. As first the evangelist was cordially received, but when he used Anglican pulpits to denounce the alleged "unspirituality" of his hosts, fewer and fewer Churchmen permitted him to speak in their churches. By the time of his arrival in Connecticut, the S.P.G. missionaries were well-informed as to his methods. Consequently, the Anglican clergy of the colony had nothing to do with him, and his tours through Connecticut were under the sponsorship of the Congregationalists. Although the "Awakening" brought some immediate gains by way of professions of salvation for the Congregationalists, in the long run it was the Anglican Church which indirectly reaped most permanent benefit from Whitefield's preaching. In the course of the "Awakening," the Congregationalists divided into two schools: the New Lights who favored the emotionalism of the movement, and the Old Lights who opposed it. The division caused the creation of New-Light Congregations in virtually every town, and this led to bitter quarrels between the two brands of Congregationalism. In the course of these internal conflicts, many of the more peacable souls came to identify themselves with the Church of England.⁴⁴

To the eternal credit of the Church of England people in Connecticut, it must be said that they won the respect of many Congregationalists

⁴³W. S. Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, I, 299.

⁴⁴C. C. Tiffany, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, pp. 141-142; W. W. Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church*, I, 106.

by their decorous behavior (except, of course, in the matter of the ecclesiastical taxes) and by their orderly worship. Unlike some of the Anglican parsons of the Southern colonies, most of the missionaries of the S.P.G. were men of a strong spiritual conviction and of high moral character. Intellectually, they made a fine showing in the pamphlet warfare of charge, vindication, rejoinder, and reply to the rejoinder which they were obliged to carry on with their opponents.⁴⁵ Almost like eighteenth-century St. Pauls, some who had been the Church's most vigorous persecutors became its most ardent supporters. In the course of the century, a number of Congregational clergy followed the example of Cutler, Johnson, and Brown, and went to England for episcopal ordination. Among the most notable of these were John Beach, Ebenezer Punderson, Solomon Palmer, Samuel Seabury, Sr., and Richard Mansfield, whose sister, it is said, prayed that he might be lost at sea and the colony thus be spared *one* Anglican priest.⁴⁶ Beach offered to return as pastor of his Newtown congregation upon receiving episcopal ordination. The congregation was receptive to the offer and would have accepted the arrangement, had not the other Congregational ministers taken action and dissolved the pastoral relationship between Mr. Beach and his people. In 1732, Beach returned to Newtown as missionary for the S.P.G. Six months after his return, he reported that his Anglican mission had fifty-four communicants. By 1762, the Church people of Newtown had become more numerous than the Congregationalists.⁴⁷

That the missionaries of the Venerable Society proselytized, there is no doubt; the winning of converts is the missionary's occupation. Nevertheless, Samuel Johnson, for one, insisted that his sole interest was in scouring the out-of-the-way places in the hopes of finding Churchmen.⁴⁸ Perhaps those "Churchmen" who were found in the remote parts *were* disaffected Congregationalists who, upon the appearance of the S.P.G. missionary, merely announced a new ecclesiastical allegiance. At any rate, the growth of the Church in Connecticut was steady.

⁴⁵C. C. Tiffany, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, p. 139.

⁴⁶L. C. Jarvis, *Sketches of Church Life in Colonial Connecticut*, pp. 28, 39, 44, 61, 62.

⁴⁷An interesting account of Beach's defection from Congregationalism is in [A. B. Chapin?] "Early Clergy of Connecticut," *The Church Review*, II (October, 1849), 310-319. See also John Clement, "Anglican Clergymen Licensed to the American Colonies, 1710-1744, with Biographical Sketches," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XVII (September, 1948), 218-250.

⁴⁸Edgar Legare Pennington, *The Reverend Samuel Johnson: His Life and Ministry* (Hartford, 1938), p. 19; C. C. Tiffany, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, p. 149.

At the beginning of S.P.G. activity in the colony, the adherents to the Church of England numbered but one hundred and fifty, and the number of communicants stood at thirty-five. In 1739, *six hundred and thirty males above the age of sixteen* signed the memorial of the Anglicans to the Assembly for a proportionate share of the proceeds of the sale of public lands for the support of their clergy. Incidentally, the Anglican petition resulted in the loss of these funds to the Congregational Establishment. The Assembly finally directed that the money be used for public education to the exclusion of both Anglican *and* Congregational churches.⁴⁹ In 1742, Samuel Johnson reported to the Bishop of London that there were "considerably more than two thousand adult persons of the Church in the colony," and "at least five or six thousand young and old."⁵⁰ One writer states that in 1752 there were 1,600 families, that in 1762 there were 2,100 families, and that in 1772 there were 2,500 Church of England families in Connecticut.⁵¹

Although it is not incumbent upon the historian to speculate upon the "might-have-beens" of history, there is every reason to believe that the growth of the Church in Connecticut would have been more phenomenal had it been able to complete its organization in the securing of an American episcopate. Upon first thought, it might seem that this was a purely internal problem of the Church of England. Actually, however, it was one of the most serious points in the Anglican-Congregational tensions.⁵² There is no need at this point to rehearse the oft-told story of the struggle for a bishop in the colonies. It will suffice to state the respective position of the parties, and to show in briefest detail how conflicting ideas of church polity heightened the tension.

Without a resident bishop in the new world, there could be neither confirmations nor ordinations there. Such few Anglican laymen as had been to England had availed themselves of opportunity for con-

⁴⁹W. S. Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, I, 295.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, I, 297.

⁵¹"Colonial Church Mission of the Seventeenth Century," *The Church Review*, I (April, 1848), 16n.

⁵²The classic account of the struggle for an American episcopate is Arthur Lyon Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (New York, 1902). This work, however, is deficient in its treatment of Connecticut, but useful sections are pp. 88-89, 102-104, and 249-252. Chapter VI deals with Massachusetts, but casual reference is also made to Connecticut. A scholarly account written from the Anglican point of view is in W. S. Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, Ch. XXII. Brief and uncritical accounts are in W. W. Manross, *History of the American Episcopal Church*, Ch. VIII; James Thayer Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931* (New York, 1951), pp. 53-57; and C. C. Tiffany, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, pp. 144-145; 266-278.

firmation. The others had been admitted to the Holy Communion by the priest under the rubric admitting those who were desirous of receiving confirmation, but who had been "hindred" therein. For those in the colonies who wished to take holy orders, there was no similar alternative. No bishop ever visited the colonies and the candidate had thus to go to the bishop. So great were the difficulties involved, and so great were the odds that the candidates would not return to the colony, that many who might have left the Congregational ministry for that of the Church of England were deterred. Indeed, many educated men of religious conviction, unwilling to risk the ocean voyage and unable to accommodate themselves to the Congregational Establishment, continued as laymen. Immediate episcopal supervision would doubtless have been healthful for the Church; disputes among clergy could have been ironed out, and episcopal visitation would have encouraged a richer parish life.

In England, there was sympathy with the colonists in their plight, but the Church of England was unable to conceive any plan whereby a bishop could be sent to the colonies, and be, at the same time, effective and acceptable. In England, the bishops still enjoyed a considerable temporal power, and it was a foregone conclusion that a bishop with power to enforce civil penalties, who would have been highly unpopular even in the colonies where the Church of England had been established, would have been anathema in Connecticut where the Church of England was merely "tolerated" by the Congregationalists. In other words, neither the Congregationalists of Connecticut nor the Anglican hierarchy could conceive of a bishop with purely "spiritual" powers. Although the Anglican clergy of Connecticut—and it was the S.P.G. missionaries of Connecticut who were most vigorous in the agitation for a bishop—insisted that they sought a bishop of the latter type, the Congregationalists regarded the assertion as mere subterfuge.

As in the seventeenth century it would have been foolhardy of the Connecticut Congregationalists to welcome Anglicans to their shores, so in the eighteenth century there was every logical reason why they should not have wished to see a bishop exercise *any* sort of authority in the colony. The Congregationalists could see the logical conclusion of any plan to have a colonial bishop. Enough of their own clergy had braved the Atlantic to suggest that were episcopal ordination more readily available there would be many more defections. Furthermore, the fathers of the Puritan colonies had suffered at the hands of the Stuart bishops, whom they regarded as the king's chief agents of oppression. Finally, and without discussing the opposing theories of the

ministry and church polity which were involved, the Congregationalists suspected—and doubtless with good reason—that the “spiritual” episcopacy would naturally resolve itself into an episcopacy of the English type. For this there was no place in a commonwealth where the Congregational churches were not disestablished until 1818. Even some of the Anglican supporters of a spiritual episcopacy were not certain that the episcopacy could long remain purely “spiritual.”

Throughout the eighteenth century, forces beyond the control of the S.P.G. missionaries operated to prevent the creation of an American episcopate. English politics were no small factor, but it was the bitter pamphlet controversy carried on in the colonies between the Anglicans and their Presbyterian and Congregational antagonists⁵³ which weakened the cause of the colonial episcopacy, by dividing the Anglicans among themselves, and by making the episcopate a political issue between the Anglicans of Northern, Middle, and Southern colonies. As the American Revolution approached, the prospects of the colonies having a bishop became even more remote when the American radicals identified the Church of England with the tyrannies of King George. The attitude merely confirmed the loyalties of the S.P.G. missionaries of Connecticut, for just before the outbreak of hostilities the clergy of the northern colonies presented as their last argument for having a bishop, the fact that they were conspicuously loyal to the Crown! When the fighting began, every one of the twenty S.P.G. missionaries in Connecticut supported the Tory cause.

In a very direct way the Anglican-Congregational tension in Connecticut contributed toward the ideal of American religious liberty. Although in the colonies where the *Church of England* was established the Anglican clergy were among the most ardent defenders of establishment, in Connecticut they were equally ardent in their efforts to disestablish Congregationalism. The revival of this libertarian Anglican spirit after the Revolution was largely instrumental in removing the last of the civil limitations upon non-Congregationalists in 1818.⁵⁴

⁵³John Beach was one of the most prolific of the Anglican pamphleteers. The details of his struggle with his Connecticut and Massachusetts adversaries may be traced in [A. B. Chapin?] “Early Clergy of Connecticut,” *The Church Review*, II (October, 1849), 313-316.

⁵⁴Maud O’Neil, “A Struggle for Religious Liberty . . .,” *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XX, pp. 175, 184.

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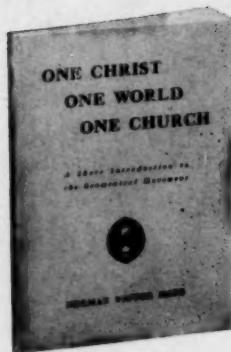


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